2984

# PLINY's PANEGYRICK

Upon the

## Emperor *Trajan*,

Faithfully Rendred into *Engliſh* from the Original.

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By *George Smith* of *North Nibley* in the County of *Gloceſter*, Eſq;

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Turbatam Rempublicam ubique accepi; pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo, ſenex et pedibus æger, firmum Imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, ſi boni erunt; imbecillum, ſi mali. *Ælius Spartanus in Vitâ Severi.*

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To her Royal Highneſs the

# Princeſs *SOPHIA*

## Of *HANOVER*,

The next declared Succeſſor by Act of Parliament to the Imperial Crowns of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, after her preſent Majeſty Queen *ANN* and her Iſſue.

*May it pleaſe your Highneſs*,

THE Author whom I preſume to offer to your Royal Patronage tranſlated into *Engliſh*, hath been by all acknowledged to have drawn the Picture of a moſt excellent *Roman* Emperor, raiſed up for the common Good and Safety of Mankind. 'Twas not a

near Alliance, Affinity, or Conſanguinity that advanc'd him to the Imperial Purple, but an abſolute Neceſſity to put a check and ſtop to the impending Fate of the *Roman* Empire. 'Tis no new thing it ſeems for Princes when in power to forget the Reaſons of their Inſtitution; and inſtead of being nurſing Fathers to their People, to become Oppreſſors, Tyrants, and common Peſts to the whole World. Thus did the Emperors *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Domitian*, whoſe Hiſtories are well known, behave themſelves; till having deviated from all the Rules of Vertue, and abandon'd themſelves to all manner of Luſt and Cruelty, they all died deteſted, and moſt of them obtain'd the juſt Reward of their Impiety. Much has been ever attributed to good and gracious Princes, and happy it were if their Vertues could be tranſmitted to their Poſterities; that

that their Succeſſions might remain for ever without Interruption. But as it is known and avowed by all wiſe and good Men, that Princes from the firſt were inſtituted for the Good and Benefit of Mankind; ſo when neither Senſe of Duty to God, nor Regard of Men can induce them to execute the fatherly Office of a Prince: When Luſt and Violence, Oppreſſion and Cruelty become the only Study of their Lives, and conſtant Tenor of their Actions; what can their Subjects do, but out of pity to themſelves ſhake off the Yoke, and devolve the Care of the Common Welfare into ſafer and better Hands?

'Tis a great Misfortune to the World, that Religion, which above all other things ſhould make Men good, is in theſe latter Ages ſo very much perverted, that inſtead

of inculcating to Sovereign Princes the great and important Duties of their Charge, it hath notoriouſly inſinuated far contrary Principles, and, to gratify the Ambition and Avarice of Church-men, hath pull'd down and ruin'd the lawful and juſt Rights and Liberties of the greateſt Part of *Europe*. The Policy is now well known, tho paſt Remedy, eſpecially in thoſe Countries where the Popiſh Religion is eſtabliſhed: provided the Prince protects the Church, that is the Eccleſiaſticks, in their vaſt Eſtates, diſſolute Immunities, and Exemptions from the Civil Authority and Juriſdiction, they never fail to aſſiſt the Prince in pillaging the Laity, and making it Rebellion, Hereſy, Death, and Damnation for Subjects to diſpute their Authority, or to have the Courage to defend their Own againſt the moſt Exor-

Exorbitant Demands or moſt Illegal Exactions of their Sovereigns. This is properly *Popery*, and the pernicious Principle which the good People of *England* ought for ever to be upon their Guard againſt. Nor are Chriſtian Princes leſs concern'd to ſupport their own lawful Prerogatives, than their Subjects are to maintain their juſt Rights and Properties. For it hath been viſible for many Ages, that this Exorbitant Power of the Church hath enlarged it ſelf into the Territories of all Chriſtian Princes whatſoever; the Royal Authority hath been by it ſubjected to the Papal, ſo that no Prince who hath had the Courage to diſpute it, hath been able to enjoy Peace in his own Dominions; for the Pope hath conſtantly an Army ready within their own Territories, as many Janizaries as there are Prieſts,

Friars, Monks and Jeſuits, and as many Cittadels and Caſtles as there are Monaſteries and religious Houſes. All theſe are ſubſervient to his pretended Holineſs, wherever they are ſeated or reſide. Upon Excommunication thundred forth againſt any Chriſtian Prince who proves an obſtinate or ſullen Son of the Church, his Subjects ſhall immediately be abſolv'd their Oaths of Allegiance, and a *Clement*, *Garnet*, or *Ravaillac* ſhall think they do God good Service to kill or murder him.

'Tis not, God knows, Religion all this while, or a Pious concern for the Salvation of Mens Souls, that makes this ſtir in the World, but the Ambition and Tyranny of the Clergy, to lord it over their fellow Creatures, and to maintain themſelves in Pomp, in Pride and in Luxury, to have the ſecular Prince become their Vaſſal, to kiſs their Feet, and do their drud-

drudgeries. The reſt of the World are but their Beaſts of Burden, Mules and Aſſes, bred up at leaſt in equal Ignorance, and ſo they yield an implicite paſſive Obedience to what the Church commands; 'tis no matter what other notions they have of Religion, whether any or none at all. How much happier thoſe Countries are who have freed themſelves from this worſe than *Egyptian* Bondage, every unprejudic'd Perſon who hath travel'd abroad well knows. But how many ſteps have been made among us for returning back to it again, 'tis a ſhame to think. I will not preſume to mention any thing that ſhall be reflecting on any of our Kings ſince *James* the Firſt, further than what is obvious to every conſidering Man in *England*, who remembers the Reign and Exit of *James* the Second. Tis well known that the Proteſtant Religion, and par-

particularly the Church of *England* as by Law eſtabliſhed, were ſtruck at; the Biſhops impriſoned, our Foundations and Colleges in the Univerſity violently ſeiz'd and entered: A Diſpenſing Power was ſet up in the State, the Charters of the City of *London*, and of moſt other Corporations in *England* condemn'd and ſeiz'd; *Ireland* put into Popiſh hands, with many other particulars. But to compleat and perpetuate our Ruin, a ſuppoſititious and pretended Prince of *Wales* was impos'd and obtruded upon the three Kingdoms. Theſe were in truth *the Hardſhips* that her preſent Majeſty and the Nation underwent: But God be praiſed for thoſe moſt excellent and never to be forgotten Princes, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, whom the Divine Goodneſs raiſed up to be the Inſtruments of our Deliverance. I might here have a very Copious Subject to en-

enlarge upon, were I capable to become a Panegyriſt, and might very properly apply the Parallel from my Author: but as I well know they abhor'd any thing that look'd like Flattery whilſt they liv'd, ſo I will not preſume to pollute their Sepulchers with it now they are Dead. Be it ſufficient that through their endeavours, by God's aſſiſtance, we are neither Slaves nor forc'd to become Papiſts; and that if in any thing they fail'd, 'twas not to be imputed to a want of Inclination in them to have done us much more good, but to the Iniquity of the times they liv'd in that would not ſuffer them. God Almighty for our Sins hath remov'd them from us, but to a far more happy Station for them, where the Society of Saints and Angels infinitely outweighs the perverſe Conduct and thwarting Tempers of too too many that diſturb'd their Quiet, and obſtruct-

ſtructed their compleating what they had ſo happily begun, and moſt undoubtedly deſign'd to finiſh, that is, the Peace of *Europe*, and particularly the Proſperity of theſe three Nations, together with the common good of the Reform'd Religion throughout the World. The Loſs, 'tis true, is moſt Deplorable; yet ſtill the ſame good Providence that raiſed up them, hath preſerv'd a Succeſſor, her preſent Majeſty Queen ANN, who now glorioufly fills the Throne, and may her Reign be Long and Proſperous. She hath begun very Auſpiciouſly in ſeconding the good intentions of the late King, by confirming his Alliances abroad, and undertaking a juſt and neceſſary War for the defence of Chriſtendom. But in nothing hath her Royal Bounty been more acceptable than in her Declaration for continuing the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line,

Line, and as a Confirmation of it, ordering your Highneſſes Royal Name to be inſerted in the Liturgy and publick Prayers. May a good underſtanding ever be maintain'd between you; for upon your agreement or diſagreement depend the hopes and fears not only of *England* but of *Europe*. Great Opportunities are now put into both your hands of doing infinite Good to Mankind in general: the reducing of the exorbitant Power of *France*, and bringing the other Powers of *Europe* to a juſter Ballance, are Glorious Undertakings. Next to this, the adjuſting the Sovereign Power, and the Peoples Liberties to a true and rational Standard, are no leſs valuable at home; and chiefly ſince the very Fundamentals of our *Engliſh* Conſtitution have by length of time and other accidents been greatly altered; to preſerve our Govetnment upon its antient Baſis, that the Claſhing

of

of Prerogative and Liberty do not one day caſt us either into a Deſpotick Tyranny or an Anarchical Confuſion. The former of theſe Conſiderations took up the whole buſineſs of the laſt Reign, and her preſent Majeſty ſeems to have Work cut out of the ſame ſort to employ many Years upon. The beſt Opportunity that ever fell into any Princes Hands to have ſettled theſe divided Nations, happen'd to K. *Charles* II. but he had other Objects to divert him. The conteſt between the Crown and Subject, which had been fatal to his Royal Father, was left by him in a manner juſt as it was when the late War began; and in his Succeſſor K. *James* IId's days, that was openly and barefac'dly avowed, which in former days had been *but* ſuſpected. 'Tis now to be hoped, that experience hath, or one day will ſatisfy every Man, that the thing this King-

dom

dom wants, is only a Prince ſo far at eaſe from Foreign Wars, as to have Leiſure to look after our Conſtitution at home, and to have a *Will* as well as Power to take care of it. Whoſoever ſhall take a view of the Alterations which have happened in our Government, muſt look back at leaſt as far as to the Reign of K. *Henry* VII. What it was before, and what it ought to be always, at leaſt in great meaſure, hath been delivered by that Eminent *Engliſh* Lawyer and great Stateſman Sir *John Forteſcue*, who was Chief Juſtice and Lord Chancellor to K. *Henry* VI. and wrote his incomparable Book *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ* for the uſe of Prince *Edward* that King's only Son. Tho the Book be of ſo long ſtanding, yet its Age derogates nothing from its Value. That unfortunate Prince lived not to make uſe of it, being unhappily ſlain in, or rather

ther ſlaughter'd the next day after the Battel of *Tewkesbury*. Under K. *Edward* IV. and *Richard* III. the Conſtitution remain'd the ſame; and ſo down to K. *Henry* VII. the Perſons only, not the Government being changed. But that provident King having in his own time ſeen to what height of Power the Nobility were riſen, ſo high that one ſingle Perſon, *Nevil* Earl of *Warwick* and *Salisbury*, and eldeſt Son to the Houſe of *Weſtmoreland*, was capable to pull down *Henry* VI. and ſet up *Edward* IV. and then to encounter him again in the Field, and drive him out of the Kingdom, and but for an accident that befel the ſaid Earl and his Brother the Marquiſs of *Montacute* at *Barnet* Fight, to have been able to do what they pleaſed; I ſay, this great and wiſe K. *Hen.* VII. bethinks him how to put a ſtop to this overgrown Power of the Nobility; but

but the Remedy hath proved worſe to the Crown than the Diſeaſe, and by degrees hath brought on other Infractions, which have abſolutely broken the Ballance of our antient *Engliſh* Conſtitution, as ſhall be ſhewn. The antient Nobility of *England*, who held of the Crown by Barony, was great and powerful, ~~ſince~~ the Policy of K. *Hen. 7th*, who allowed them to alienate their Fees, and yet retain their Peerage. The vaſt Eſtates that have been forfeited by Attainders, the Miſeries of the late Civil War, and the looſe and extravagant way of living *altogether in London*, ſince the Reſtoration of K. *Ch. 2d*, have brought the Nobility too Low. However, for their Honour be it ſpoken, they have in the two laſt Parliaments gain'd more upon the Affections of the People of *England*, than at any time for almoſt theſe two hundred Years laſt paſt. The real

Wealth of *England* consists undoubtedly in Land; and it seems to me that antiently the Crown, the Church, the Nobility, and the Commons held almost equal Shares. How the Nobility came to fail, hath been said already. The great Diminution suffered by the Church, was under King *Henry* the VIII. and by the vast profusion of King *James* the First and his Successors, (nay Queen *Elizabeth* her self was even too bountiful) The Crown Lands and Fee-farm Rents have been in a manner totally dissipated, so that the vast Bulk both of Land and Trade now manifestly remains among the Commons of *England*. What effects these Alterations in our Antient Constitution have produced within the time that passed between the Death of King *Henry* the Seventh, and the miserable Fall

Fall of King *Charles* the Firſt, which makes no more than one hundred forty nine Years, I leave to any that have read thoſe Hiſtories, and particularly the beginning and ending of our late Civil War. Without the Benevolence then of the Commons of *England*, the Crown hath at this day little or no Revenue, either to ſupport it ſelf, the Civil Liſt, or to carry on Foreign Wars or Treaties: So that if it be an undiſputable Maxim, *That where the Wealth of a Nation lies, there will be the Power*; it looks as tho the danger of falling under a Popular, rather than a Regal Government, ſeem'd moſt to threaten. But the effect hath already ſhewn the contrary: For when in the late Times the Crown was fatally fallen, and the Houſe of Lords laid by as uſeleſs and dangerous, the *Uſurper* found it would not hold; and therefore, tho with

but the name of a Protector, he had aſſum'd a greater and more boundleſs Authority than any of our Kings before him, he was forc'd to ſet up another Houſe of Lords, ſuch as they were; and when He went off the Stage, and the Power ſeem'd to be reverted back again to the Commons, what had we but Confuſion for about two Years? and were then forc'd to call home the Royal Family, and with them to reſtore our Antient Form of Government. There is ſomewhat that's too Generous in the Nature of our *Engliſh* Gentry to be govern'd by our Repreſentatives, who are in effect no other than our Servants. We muſt have a *Sovereign* at the Head of us. The great Art of management will be for the Crown to be *in Intereſt, as 'tis in Authority, the*

*Head*

*Head and Chief of the Commonwealth*, and to have no ſeparate Intereſt from it. The Simily will hold here between a Body Politick and a Body Natural. 'Twas well obſerv'd by a Foreigner, as Sir *William Temple* relates it, that *Un Roy d' Engleterre, qui veut eſtre l'homme de ſon Peuple, eſt le plus Grand Prince du monde ; mais ſ'il veut eſtre autre choſe, Il n' eſt plus par Dieu Rien*: that is, *A King of* England, *who reſolves to be Beloved of his People, is the greateſt Prince in the World: But if it be otherwiſe, he is from thenceforth juſt nothing at all.* Let but the People of *England* be well ſatisfied that the Crown deſigns only the publick Welfare, to adminiſter Juſtice equally and duly, to maintain the publick Peace at home and Abroad, to protect every individual peaceable Man in the pro-

feſſion of his Religion, and in his Property: Let the Nobility be advanc'd, the Church of *England* maintain'd, the Hopes of the pretended Prince of *Wales* and his Abettors be extinguiſh'd, Trade preſerv'd, and the Commons cheriſh'd, and there can no Danger ariſe from a Republican or Commonwealth Party in *England*. A King or Queen of *England*, who acts upon theſe Principles, ſhall for ever have the Hearts of their People; and then, like Queen *Elizabeth*, they ſhall never want their Purſes to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown. As we are well ſatisfied that this is the only aim of her preſent Majeſty, ſo we have aſſured hopes that in caſe of her Demiſe, which we pray God long to defer, your Highneſs, or at leaſt your Poſterity, will in all reſpects proceed

ceed and follow Her Example. And that both Her Majeſty and your Highneſs may be ever happy in ſuch Councils, is the hearty Prayer of every true *Engliſh* Man, who wiſhes the common Good and Welfare of his Country, eſpecially,

MADAM, that of

Your Highneſſes moſt Humble,

and Moſt Devoted Servant,

*G. SMITH.*

## *ERRATA.*

PAGE 14. l. 19, 20. r. *openly.* p. 17. l. 9. r. *powerful. But the Policy*, &c. l. 12. put ; after *Peerage.* p. 18. l. 12. dele the *ſemicolon* after *Succeſſors.* l. 14. dele the *full point* after *bountiful.* p. 20. l. 16. r. *too.* p. 35. l. 5. dele *That.* p. 63. l. 8. dele *little.* p. 78. l. 26. put a *comma* after levied. p. 79. l. 22, 23. r. *This, Sir, is Great of it ſelf.* p. 87. l. 28. r. *Treaſury.* p. 147. l. 26. r. *retained.* p. 153. l. 4. r. *Treaſury.* p. 159. l. penult. r. *and they ſet.*

# To the Reader.

IT *may be objected perhaps by ſome, that the printing of this Tranſlation might have been omitted, as having been done not many Years ago by Mr.* White Kennet, *late of* Edmund-*Hall in* Oxford. *The truth is, I had made a conſiderable Progreſs in the Book before I ſo much as heard of Mr.* Kennet's *having tranſlated it: And therefore tho the World hath been obliged to him for many extraordinary Performances of this ſort, yet I may ſafely ſay I have no way borrowed of him here, having not ſo much as ſeen one Page of his Tranſlation till I had wholly finiſhed my own.*

*I could not but greatly approve that delicate Abridgment of the* Roman *Hiſtory by Mr.* Echard. *'Twas his Labour that ſet me to work, Leiſure and the Country alſo inviting. The chief Aſſiſtance*

*tance I had in it, I muſt acknowledg to an* Italian *Tranſlation, printed in Columns with the Original, which I found at, and brought with me from* Venice *in the Year* 84. *'Tis done it ſeems by a Clergyman there, called Don* Gio. Aguſtiono Lengueglia *of the Congregation or Order of* Somaſca. *The Impreſſion bears date at* Venice *in the Year* 1670. *and is dedicated to Signior* Alviſio Mocenigo, *one of the Procurators of St.* Mark. *For the Dedication it ſelf, it little imports to our preſent purpoſe, as containing ſcarce any thing but the Compliment of the* Italian *Tranſlator to his particular Patron; ſaving that, for the Honour of that Noble Family, he tells him that the World is indebted to the Memory of his Anceſtor Signior* Lewis Mocenigo, *who in the former Age had been Ambaſſador to the Crown of* France; *that in that Embaſſy he had the Happineſs to recover the only Manuſcript perhaps remaining of this Author, who till then had for many Ages paſt lain dormant.* Pliny's

# *Pliny*'s Panegyrick

## Upon the

# Emperor *Trajan.*

'TWAS well and wiſely ordain'd, moſt Reverend Fathers, by our Anceſtors, that not only all great Actions, but Orations ſhould commence with Invocation; *Becauſe Men can never prudently nor proſperouſly undertake any thing but by the Advice, Aſſiſtance, and Adoration of the Immortal Gods:* a Cuſtom by none fitter to be obſerv'd than by a Conſul, when by Decree of the Senate, and Authority of the Commonwealth, he is appointed to return publick Thanks to the beſt of Princes. What greater or more valuable Bleſſing could Heaven have ſhower'd down upon us, than a chaſt and pious Emperor, moſt reſembling the Gods themſelves? Moreover, were it not determined whether the Gover-

Governors of the World were appointed by meer Chance, or by the eſpecial Providence of the Gods, it would yet be manifeſt that our Prince reign'd by the Divine Appointment. Nor was he choſen by any private or ſudden Accident, but by the Gods apparently amidſt their Temples and their Altars within the ſelf-ſame Place [the Capitol] where the Divine Power reſides as manifeſtly as amongſt the Stars: Wherefore, as both Duty and Piety require, I implore thee, O Great and Mighty *Jupiter*, by whom the *Roman* Empire was at the beginning founded, and hath been hitherto maintain'd, that thou would'ſt vouchſafe me an Oration worthy of a Conſul, of the Senate, and of the Imperial Majeſty; that Truth and Freedom may appear in all I ſay, and that I may be as far from Flattery as the Occaſion is it ſelf remote.

I'm of opinion then that both the Conſuls, and the People of *Rome* ought ſo to expreſs themſelves, as to ſay nothing of our preſent Emperor, which could be any ways applied to any of his Predeceſſors. Away then with thoſe timorous Expreſſions which our Fears have hitherto ſuggeſted! We have no reaſon to repeat them now, becauſe our Caſe is altered; nor are we forc'd in publick to diſſemble, and to repine

pine at our Prince in private. The World may now ſee by the Frankneſs of our Speech, that the Times are chang'd; and it is alſo evident by the free Acceſs we enjoy, that we are no more requir'd to flatter our Emperors as Gods. For 'tis not a Tyrant, but a Fellow-Citizen; not ſo much a Sovereign as a Parent, whom we have to treat of. He's one of us; and what's moſt valuable in his Character, he eſteems himſelf as ſuch. *Nor does he think himſelf above Human Kind, becauſe Mankind are ſubject to his Authority.* Let us underſtand therefore our own Happineſs, and behave our ſelves like Subjects worthy of his Care; at the ſame time reflecting which is the better State, *To obey a Prince who allows the Liberty, or one who exacts the Slavery of the People?*

May the *Roman* People long enjoy their belov'd Prince: And as before the Multitude in the publick Theaters, by a compulſive piece of Flattery, were forc'd to commend the Beauty of *Domitian*; let them reſound the Praiſes of *Trajan*'s Strength: Inſtead of *Nero*'s Fidling and Singing with the Mimick Geſtures of his Dancing, let them commend the Piety, Abſtinence and Bounty of the preſent Emperor. If the Vulgar be thus employed, how ſhall we [the Senators] behave our ſelves?

ſelves? Shall we celebrate him as a Deity, or every Man of us, according to the Love and Joy we have conceived, ſound forth the Praiſes of his Humanity, Temperance, and Candour? How worthy and becoming the Senate is that Title of *Optimus* [the Beſt of Emperors] which we have given him? a Stile which the Arrogance of former Princes hath made peculiar to himſelf. Moreover, how perfectly and juſtly does the whole Body of the People expreſs *their own Happineſs*, when they congratulate *the Emperors*? And how ſincere their Joy, when they contend to ſhew and make him ſenſible of it, for no other reaſon than becauſe he hath deſerved it? Expreſſions which overcame his Modeſty to Tears, as knowing they were not given to his Quality, but to his Perſon.

Wherefore from the Temper we have already ſhewn in the ſudden Tranſport of our Affections, we may reſt aſſured that there cannot be a more ſincere nor a more acceptable ſort of Gratitude than that which hath not time to be counterfeited. For my own part I ſhall endeavour to adapt my Speech to the Modeſty and Moderation of the Emperor, not conſulting ſo much what he can bear the hearing, as what his great Vertue deſerves.

'Tis

'Tis a great and an unuſual Glory to a Prince, that being to receive the Publick Thanks, we are not ſo much afraid of being ſparing in his Commendation, as that he ſhould think we are ſuperfluous. This is the only Care and Difficulty I have upon me: For, my Lords, 'tis an eaſy matter to return Thanks where they are due. Here's no danger, when I ſpeak of his Humanity, that he ſhould think I reproach him for his Pride; or that when I treat of his Frugality, he ſhould imagine I upbraid him as luxurious; or when I commend his Clemency, he ſhould interpret it his Cruelty; when I deſcribe his Liberality, that he ſhould think I call him Covetous; that by his Benignity, I ſhould mean his Choler; by his Chaſtity, his Luſt; by his Labours, his Lazineſs; or that I ſhould ironically mean his Fear, when I commend his Valour. Nor am I furthermore afraid, that what I ſay ſhould be well or ill reſented, as I ſeem to magnify or to extenuate the Subject. Beſides, I am well convinc'd, *That even the Gods are better pleaſed with the Innocence and Sanctity of thoſe that worſhip them, than with the Eloquence or Accuracy of their Petitions; and that thoſe Votaries are more welcome at their Shrines who bring a chaſt and upright Meaning with them, than if they*

*they offered up a ſtudied and harmonious Hymn.*

But I muſt obey the Order of the Senate, who for the Publick Good hereafter have enjoin'd it me as Conſul, under the Notion of returning Thanks, *To let good Princes know wherein they have done well, and bad ones what was their Duty to have done.* I am warranted to be the more ſolemn on the occaſion, becauſe the Emperor hath forbidden all private Addreſſes, as he would alſo this in publick had not the Senate interpoſed. You have in both, Great Sir, expreſs'd your Moderation in forbidding it elſewhere, and in allowing of it here; an Honour done not to your ſelf, but unto us who are your humble Suppliants. You have been pleaſed to accept our good Affections, in permitting us to celebrate your Bounty; We add only as our further Requeſt, that you would vouchſafe to hear us.

I have often then, My Noble Lords, contemplated how highly that Perſon ought to be endow'd, by whoſe Direction all Affairs both by Sea and Land, in Peace and War, were to be managed; and when in my own Imagination I had form'd a Prince worthy to be inveſted with the Authority of the Gods themſelves, I profeſs to you that never any yet occur'd to me more

more proper than the Prince before us. Some have been fam'd in War, but in Peace have dwindl'd; others for Eloquence, but not for Arms: Some have been obey'd for fear, others have obtain'd the Love of Mankind for their Humanity: Some have loſt at home the Reputation they had gain'd abroad, others again abroad what they had obtain'd at home. In ſhort, there hath never yet appear'd that Prince whoſe Vertues had not ſome Alloy of Vice to ſully them: But for our preſent Emperor, what a Harmony is there in the Mouths of all Men, celebrating his Praiſes, and the Glory of his great Atchievements? The Gravity, Severity, nor Majeſty of his Aſpect are in the leaſt wiſe leſſened by Levity, want of Aſſurance, nor overweening Modeſty. Beſides, his tall and well-built Perſon, his generous Voice and Countenance, added to the Maturity of his Years, already through the Bounty of the Gods accompanied with Grey Hairs, they are great and honourable Tokens of a worthy Prince.

Such of neceſſity muſt he be, whom neither inteſtine Wars, nor the Commonwealth oppreſt with civil Diſcord, but a profound Peace, a voluntary Adoption, and the Gods propitious to our Prayers have given us. And is there not a Diffe-

rence between a Prince ſet up by Men, and one appointed by the Gods? Their Favour and Suffrage viſibly appear'd, Great Sir, towards you, when you firſt appeared in the Army. Other Princes have been forc'd to conſult and ſooth the Prieſts and Augurs to be aſſur'd of their Election by the Signs and Tokens appearing in the Sacrifices; but you no ſooner mounted the Stairs of the Capitol among the Citizens, at that time ignorant of the matter, but you were immediately ſaluted Emperor. For as the Multitude when you went in, waited the opening of the Gates to have perform'd their Prayers to *Jupiter* as their Supreme Governor, the Event ſhewed that you were the Perſon deſtin'd. 'Twas a happy Omen of your future Government, that you were unwilling to receive the News, that you refus'd the Advantages of being Emperor; we were even obliged to force you, nor could we yet prevail but for the impending Dangers of your Country. 'Twas fully evident that you had never accepted the Empire but for the ſake of its Preſervation. Wherefore I for my part am perfectly convinc'd that the Noiſe and Mutiny in the Camp was purpoſely committed, becauſe they knew your Modeſty was not to be overcome but by Force and Terror. For as both by Sea and Land the

Air

Air grows cleareſt after Storms and Tempeſts, ſo I look upon thoſe Tumults to have been Preſages of the happy Peace we enjoy under you. The Condition of mortal Men is liable to theſe Viciſſitudes: ~~That~~ *Adverſity takes its Riſe from Proſperity, and Proſperity from Adverſity. God Almighty only knows the Occaſions, and many times the Cauſes both of Good and Evil lie variouſly conceal'd from us.*

'Twas a prodigious Diſgrace to the very Age, beſides a dangerous Wound to the State and Government, to have the Emperor, the common Father of his Country, beſieged, taken, and confin'd; the good old Gentleman not being allowed the Power of ſaving Mens Lives, and denied the happieſt Part of his Government, which was *to have nothing done by Violence.* But if theſe Occaſions help'd to advance your Majeſty to the Helm of Government, whereby you were enabled to preſerve us all, I could almoſt rejoice that they occur'd.

The Diſcipline of the Army was corrupt, that you might have the Honour of reſtoring it; the worſt Examples were given, that you might appear and ſhew a better Pattern. Nay, the Emperor was obliged to execute Men againſt his Will, to the end that another Emperor ſhould

ariſe whoſe Clemency could not be forc'd. You deſerv'd long ſince to be adopted, but we ſhould not have known how greatly the Empire had been indebted to you had it been done ſooner. The time will come when 'twill be apparent that you have not received from, but confer'd a Favour upon the Empire. The tottering State took ſanctuary within your Boſom; and the good old Emperor ſinking under the Weight of Government, devolv'd it by his own Deſire to you. You were invited, and the Adoption caſt upon you in the ſelf-ſame manner, as our great Generals heretofore were wont to be recalled from Wars abroad, and to have the civil Employments of the State confer'd upon them. In the ſame manner the Emperor *Nerva* as a Father, you as a Son, mutually perform'd the nobleſt Action. He confer'd the Empire upon you, and you reſtor'd it to him by your Acceptance. You are the only Perſon in this Age who hath made a full return for ſo great a Bounty, nay beyond the nature of the Obligation, only by accepting it: For you being advanced to the Empire, undergo the Weight, and he enjoys the Honour and the Safety of it. A new and an unparallel'd Method to obtain a Kingdom, not through your own Avarice or Jealouſy,

but

but for the publick Good and Safety of Mankind. Men may think it perhaps a mighty thing that you are thus advanc'd; but you left for it a much happier Condition: that is to ſay, tho the Empire was happy under a benign and gracious Prince, you deny'd your ſelf the Satisfaction of your beloved Retirement, and ſuffer'd your ſelf to be taken up as Partner of the Cares and Labours of the Government: For 'tis not the pleaſant nor the proſperous Part, but the hard and difficult which they have caſt on you. You undertook the Empire, when another Perſon had repented him of his being advanced. You had no relation to the former Emperor, nor was there any reaſon for your Adoption upon that account, ſaving that both of you being Perſons of the higheſt Merit, he was worthy to make the choice, and you to be elected. You were not therefore adopted like other Princes formerly for the ſake of a Wife, for he made you his Son, not as a Father-in-law, but as a Prince. For *Nerva* was no more a Parent to you, than as he was the common Father of the Country; nor was it fit a Prince ſhould make choice of a Son for any other reaſon or purpoſe. What? ſhould the Senate and People of *Rome*, the Army, the Provinces, with our Confe-

derates, be transfer'd to a Succeſſor only for a Wife's ſake: Or ſhould the Emperor have ſought a Succeſſor within the Walls of his own Houſe only? Should he not much rather have caſt his Eyes throughout the City, and have eſteem'd him as his neareſt Kinſman, whom he found *the Beſt, the Worthieſt, and moſt Upright Perſon?* The Emperor who governs all, ought to be choſen by the Conſent of all; for 'twas not a Steward over his own private Inheritance, but a *Prince* to govern the Empire, that the Emperor had to appoint. It had been a proud and inſolent Action not to have adopted him, whom all Men knew deſtin'd to the Empire, tho the Ceremony of Adoption had been omitted. Thus did *Nerva*, little regarding whether you became his Son by Election or by Nature, ſince Children are both adopted and begotten without their Parents being aſſur'd how they will prove; ſaving that Men more eaſily ſubmit to, and bear with a Prince whom his Father has unhappily begotten, than with one whom he hath more unhappily choſen. Wherefore with great Induſtry he avoided this Misfortune, not conſulting the Judgments of Men only, but of the Gods. For the Ceremony of your Adoption was not perform'd in the Bed-chamber,

ber, nor in the Lodgings of your Bride, but in the Temple before the Altars of the Gods; by which means not the Slavery, but the Liberty, Peace and Safety of the People were ſecur'd. The Gods challeng'd this Glory to themſelves. This was their Work and Influence; *Nerva* was but their Miniſter, and you both yielded Obedience only to their Decrees. The Laurel was brought from *Hungary* by permiſſion of the Gods, to the end that Enſigns of Victory might adorn the firſt appearing of a fortunate Emperor. The Emperor *Nerva* had no ſooner offer'd this to *Jupiter*, but with a graver and more majeſtick Air than uſual amidſt the Aſſemblies both of Men and Gods he acknowledg'd you his Son; that is, he aſſum'd you as a Companion in the weighty Burden of the Government. Then as having deveſted himſelf of the Imperial Dignity, with what Honour, Joy and Safety did he withdraw? (for there's little difference in parting with and in dividing the Authority, ſaving that the latter is more difficult) depending as much upon you, as if you had been there preſent, and caſting all the Care both of himſelf, and of the Government upon your Shoulders, Youth and Vigor; all Diſturbances immediately diſappear'd. This was no

Effect of the Adoption, but of the Perſon adopted; for the Emperor had done raſhly if he had nominated another Perſon. We all remember that the Sedition did not end, but began even after the Adoption: And it had been a moſt exorbitant Rebellion had not the Election fallen on you. 'Tis no wonder that the Emperor could not appoint his Succeſſor, who had himſelf loſt his Authority; therefore for your ſake the Storm blew over. Then were you immediately declar'd the Emperor's Heir, ſaluted *Cæſar*, made Partner of the Supreme Authority, and had every thing beſides confer'd upon you, which *Veſpaſian* not long ſince with utmoſt difficulty did devolve to one of his real Sons.

'Twas a mighty Inſtance of your Moderation, that being declared not only the Succeſſor, but the Companion and Partner of the Empire, you yet gave no occaſion to the Emperor *Nerva*, nor his Friends to have complained. His Succeſſor you was of neceſſity, being adopted, but for the Partnerſhip 'twas in his own choice. Is it a thing to be believed hereafter, that a Perſon deſcended from a Father of the *Patrician* Rank, who had been Conſul, and who had triumph'd at the Head of a numerous and well-affected Army; that this Man, I ſay, ſhould not be

choſen

choſen Emperor by the Army? who having ſubdued *Germany*, and by the Senate been decreed the Title of *Germanicus*, ſhould yet forgo it: That he ſhould neither act nor do any thing towards his Advancement to the Empire, but deſerve it by his Obedience. For as you were a General, you obey'd, and by your Obedience you became Emperor; nor did you in any thing ſhew your ſelf ſo much a Subject, as when you aſſumed the Government. Tho you were declared *Cæſar*, and Emperor, with the Title of *Germanicus* added in your abſence, and without your knowledg, yet for your own part you remained a private Perſon. 'Twould ſeem a Prodigy to ſay it, you would not know you were to be Emperor; 'twas done without your Privity; and when the Expreſs came with the News of your good Fortune, you had rather have continued what you were, but could not be allow'd. What? would you not as a Citizen obey the Conſul? as a General follow the Orders of the Emperor? as a Son yield Obedience to a Father? What became of the Authority and Cuſtom ſettled by our Anceſtors of obſerving promptly and readily what the Emperor commands? Suppoſe he had commanded you to ſhift your Province, and to have led the Army upon ſome foreign

reign Expedition. Think you, you ought not to have obey'd him with the ſame Duty when he recalled you to the Empire, as when he ſent you to command the Army? Or that there's any difference in being commanded out as a General, or being recall'd as a Prince? Unleſs it be that there is greater Honour in obeying, when the Command goes againſt the Humor of the Party commanded. The Danger the Emperor's Authority was in, was an Addition to his Command; and your Readineſs in obeying him was the more valuable, for that he was ſo little obſerv'd by others. Beſides this, you had the Conſent of the Senate and People; 'twas not the ſingle Judgment of *Nerva*, but *their Election:* All Men wiſh'd it, he in right of his Prerogative had the Power; and did that of himſelf firſt which all People beſides deſir'd. Nor would the Action have been ſo univerſally agreeable when done, had it not been every Man's Deſire before.

But good God! with what Temper have you managed both your Fortune and your Power! for being honour'd with the Title of Emperor, with Statues, and with Trophies, yet in Modeſty, Labour, and Diligence you have perform'd the Station of a General, of a private Captain,

tain, nay of a common Soldier, having advanced privately to the City before the Eagles, Standards, and military Equipage could follow you. Nor has the Adoption inſpir'd you with other Thoughts, than thoſe of Piety and filial Obedience; wiſhing long Life and Honour to the Emperor. Providence exalted you to the firſt and higheſt, you deſired to remain and to have waited longer in a lower Station; wiſhing to have been reputed but a private Perſon while the other Emperor liv'd. Your Prayers were heard, but in concurrence with the pious and good old Emperor's, whom Heaven immediately received, that after ſo glorious and divine an Action, he might intervene no more in ſecular Affairs. So great and worthy, and ſo unheard of an Action was fit to be his laſt; and nothing fitter, than that the Author of it ſhould be receiv'd, and by Poſterity be deem'd a God. He was the Common Father, in no reſpect ſo ſingular as when he adopted you; 'twas his unparallel'd Glory when he ſaw how well the Empire ſat upon your Shoulders, that he left the World to you, and you to it. In this his Memory is to be beloved and valued, that he took care the Empire ſhould not want him when he was dead and gone. You as an obedient and dutiful Son attend-

ed

ed at his Funeral with Tears, and afterwards erected Temples to his Memory, not as others had done upon like occaſions formerly. *Tiberius* deified *Auguſtus*, that he might annex Deity forſooth to Majeſty. *Nero* did the ſame to his Uncle *Claudius*, only to deride him. *Titus* did the like to *Veſpaſian*, and *Domitian* to *Titus*; the one that he might be the Son, the other (out of Vanity) that he might be eſteem'd the Brother of a God. You have fix'd and ſettled your Father among the Gods, not in Terror to the People, in contempt to the Deities, nor for your own Honour; but becauſe you thought he deſerv'd the Station. This is leſs than they did who thought as goodly of themſelves as Gods. For tho you have honour'd him with Altars, Oratories, and with Prieſts attending, you make his Divinity conſiſt in nothing more than this, that you your ſelf reſemble him. For the ſureſt Sign and Token of a Prince's Divinity is, *That e'er he died, he named his Succeſſor, and left a good one.* Nothing of Arrogance can be imputed to you upon the account of your Father's deifying; you rather imitated the antient Glory of our Anceſtors, than thoſe later Examples of Pride and Sloth, who laid claim to Divine Honours. I ſpeak of thoſe our Anceſtors who laid the firſt Foundation

dation of the Empire, of late invaded and deſpis'd by the Enemy; who when they happen'd to be defeated and put to flight, our Emperors took no farther care than to celebrate an extravagant Triumph. Wherefore the conquered Countries withdrawing their Obedience, and endeavouring to ſhake off the Yoke, they pretended not only to their own Liberty, but that the *Romans* ſhould become their Subjects: nor would they accept Conditions from us but upon equal Terms, nor receive the Law at our Hands, but that they might be free to give it in their own Country: But now they are all return'd to themſelves again, and to a juſt eſteem of their Governors. For we have now to lead us one of our antient *Roman* Generals, a Perſon who has acquir'd the Empire by Victories obtain'd by Sea and Land. Now the Enemy ſends us Hoſtages, we don't buy them, nor make our Bargains at vaſt Expences with our Invaders to retire, and then make our Brags that we ſubdued them. If they intreat, beſeech and ſupplicate, we now with equal Authority either deny or grant them their Requeſts. They are thankful if they obtain, nor dare they murmur if denied: or if they durſt, they know that you have engag'd the fierceſt Nations, and

and at thoſe Seaſons of the Year which were moſt favourable to them, and moſt adverſe to us; when the *Danube* was frozen over, and bore prodigious Armys upon the Ice; when the barbarous Nations appear'd not more formidable for their Arms than for their Climate; no ſooner did you approach, but as if the Summer were already come, they betook themſelves to their Woods and Faſtneſſes, whilſt your own Army foraged abroad at pleaſure, and turn'd the Rigor of the Seaſon not to their own, but to their Enemies Diſadvantage.

If the Enemy hath this Veneration for you, what hath your own Army? what Love and Admiration have not you obtain'd there? when for your ſake they endure both Thirſt and Hunger; and all becauſe they ſee their General ſweating and toiling with them in the Field, in no kind differing from the meaneſt Sentinel, but in his extraordinary Strength and Valour. When you are one while attacking the Enemy, otherwhiles receiving their Aſſaults, commending even your Enemies Courage when you receive a heavier ſhock upon your Helm or Buckler (for you even commended them for their Fierceneſs, and bid them advance boldly, as indeed they did) when at the beginning of the

Fight

Fight you your ſelf commanded, and led on your Army, dared their Flights of Arrows; and if any Poſt appear'd more dangerous, you in your own Perſon ſuſtain'd it. How were they not affected when they ſaw you taking care of the Sick and Wounded? *It never was your cuſtom to withdraw your ſelf to your Tent till you had view'd your Men, nor to take your Reſt till the laſt Guard was ſet.* 'Tis no wonder to hear of ſuch Heroick Actions antiently perform'd among the *Fabricii*, the *Scipios*, and *Camillus's*; for in thoſe days there was that Emulation, that every Man ſtrove to exceed each other: but ſince Men have left off the Study of Arms to gratify their voluptuous Senſes; and when inſtead of brave old Officers who had won the Civick or the Mural Coronet, we are taken up only with our *Greek* Language or Fencing-maſters; 'tis rare indeed to find a *Roman* Nobleman delighted with the antient Honour of his Country, and without a Rival ſtrive to exceed himſelf; and being ſolely Emperor, be the only Perſon worthy of the Dignity.

Theſe were your beginnings, and the Early Proofs of your further promiſing Valour; that being but yet a Youth, you return'd with Honour to your Country, with your Gallant Father from the *Parthian*

*thian* Conqueſt, and even then deſerv'd the Title of *Germanicus:* you no ſooner heard of the Pride and Fierceneſs of the *Parthians*, but you brought down their Stomachs, and fill'd all that vaſt Country between the *Euphrates*, and the *Rhine*, with the Fame and Glory of your Atchievments. 'Tis not ſo much your Perſon, as your Name that has travel'd through all Countries, being always deareſt and moſt Renowned where you laſt parted: And all this before you were yet Emperor, or honour'd with the Adoption of a Deity. And when multitudes of barbarous Nations had ſeiz'd upon, and fortify'd themſelves in *Germany*, and throughout all that tract betwixt the *Pyrenean* Mountains, the Alps, and other Mountains; through all theſe vaſt Territories as you led, or rather hurried the Legions (ſuch was your Expedition) you ne'er regarded what Chariot, nor what Horſe you us'd, as not valuing your own eaſe, but the Conveniency of your March; never uſing your beſt and manag'd Horſes, but upon days of Exerciſe or Combat, when you were obliged to be here and there, and every where throughout the whole Army. I know not which to admire moſt, the beginning, or the ending of your Expedition; 'twas much you could

could go through it, and much more that you doubted not your own ſtrength. I no way queſtion but that the Emperor *Domitian*, who during thoſe *German* Wars recall'd you out of *Spain*, as his own chief ſupport, and ſafe-guard, himſelf being but a ſluggiſh Prince, and envious of the vertuous Characters of other Men, even tho he wanted their Service: I ſay, I doubt not but he conceiv'd as great an Admiration of you, tho with inward Jealouſy to himſelf, as *Euriſtheus* did of *Hercules*; when after his greateſt Travels and Labours he return'd unwearied, and Victorious; ſince you prov'd your ſelf in that Expedition ſo great and worthy a Commander.

When in the beginning of your Youth you went out a Colonel, you travel'd through the remoteſt Countries with a Manlike Solidity: Fortune ſo ordering it, that you ſhould be fully vers'd in Affairs e'er you ſhould arrive to the chief Authority: for you were not ſatisfy'd with only viſiting the Army, and living a little among them for your Diverſion, but ſtay'd, and became ſo expert a Colonel that you were ſoon fit to be made a General, *being not to learn your Duty, when you had others to command.* During your ten Years Service you made your ſelf acquainted with the Cuſtoms of Foreigners, with the Si-

tuations of Countries, with the Conveniencies of Places, and ennur'd your Conſtitution to different Diets and Climates, till they became as natural to you as your own. What numbers of Horſes, and Sutes of Armour have you worn out? Poſterity will be glad hereafter to ſhew their Children the Fields where you encampt or fought, the Trees under which you ſat to refreſh your ſelf, the Mounts whereon your Tents were pitch'd, the Houſes where ſo great a Gueſt was entertain'd; as you your ſelf were wont to be delighted in marching over the ſame Ground, and contemplating the Conduct of former Generals. Theſe things are to be hereafter. For the preſent every one of the older Soldiers values himſelf for having been your Contemporary; for where indeed can be found any who were not your Companions in Arms, before you were created Emperor? 'Tis from hence that you know them almoſt all by name, for that you remember the particular great Actions they perform'd; nor need they ſet forth how many Wounds they have receiv'd in their Country's Service, when you your ſelf were preſent both to obſerve, and to encourage them.

But your Moderation is ſo much the more commendable, that not withſtanding

ing you were bred a Soldier, you are yet a Lover of Peace; and that tho your Father had the Honour of a Triumph, and your own Laurels were offer'd up to *Jupiter* on the day of your Adoption, yet ſtill you declin'd a Triumph. Tho you fear not War, yet you are not forward to engage in't. 'Tis a mighty thing, Great Sir, to view the Enemy from the oppoſite ſhore, to be aſſur'd of Victory if you paſs, yet to reſtrain your ſelf from Fighting. The firſt your known Valour aſſur'd, the other your Moderation permitted: for that you declin'd the Combat, 'twas the effect of your Moderation; and for your Valour, 'tis ſufficient that the Enemy durſt not. The Capitol will then one day be fill'd, not with empty Chariots, nor the falſe appearances of Victory, but of a true and ſolid Conqueſt worthy of the Emperor, with Enſigns of Peace and of Tranquillity, and the acknowledgments of the Enemy that they were not ſubdued by Violence. This is more Honourable than any Triumph. Nor do we ever conquer any, but ſuch as contemn the Honour of the Empire. For if the Prince of any barbarous People ſhould be ſo Mad, or Inſolent, as to incur your Indignation, 'tis neither Sea, nor Flood, nor the higheſt Mountains could protect him: Theſe ſhould all

appear ſo ſubmiſſive to your Command, that he would think the Mountains fell, the Rivers dry'd, the Sea gave back; that not our Fleets, but the very *Roman* Ground invaded him. Methinks at this very time I behold a glorious Triumph, not of the Spoils of our own Provinces, nor Wealth extorted from our Allies, but Hoſtil Arms, and Kings led through in Chains. Methinks I ſee the Equipages of the Barbarous Nations paſs before me, the Victims of each Country following with their Hands ty'd faſt behind them, your ſelf ſeated aloſt in your Triumphant Chariot, the Carriages going before you loaded with Shields and Bucklers, which your own Sword had penetrated. Nor needed you have doubted to poſſeſs the Plunder of the Field, how rich ſoever, where any barbarous Nation durſt give Battel. For not the multitude of your Armies, but the very Terror of your Name was of it ſelf ſufficient to have frighted them from the Attempt. Such likewiſe was your Moderation, that when the Dignity of the Empire requir'd you either to invade, or drive back the Enemy, *you ſeem'd to Triumph, becauſe you Conquer'd, not to have Conquer'd for the ſake of Triumph.*

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One thing minds me of another: for how Noble a matter is it that you have reſtor'd the loſt Diſcipline of the Army, and extinguiſh'd the Miſchiefs of the former Age, when the Soldiers through Idleneſs grew Impudent, and refus'd Obedience? That General's ſafe who has deſerv'd the Love and Reverence of his Soldiers; whoſe Authority being thus ſecur'd, none of the Inferior Officers need value it whether their Men love them or not; for being indifferent whether the Soldiers be pleas'd with it or no, they attend the Works, exerciſe their Regiments, take account both of their Men, their Arms, and their Retrenchments. For he is not a General who ſtands in fear that the Preparations making againſt the Enemy are deſign'd to oppoſe himſelf; which was the Apprehenſion of ſome of our former Emperors when they went forth to War. The Army therefore wiſh'd not only that the Diſcipline, but that their very Bodys ſhould be enervated, and their Swords ruſted in their Scabbards; for that the Generals ſtood more in fear of their own Princes Treachery, and of Violence to be offer'd by their own Soldiers, than of the Enemies Forces. 'Tis the nature of the Conſtellations, that the leſſer Luminaries are obſcur'd upon the appearance of the

greater; ſo when the Emperor appears, the Authority of the General ceaſes. But you, tho you were greater than any, yet you were ſo without diminution to any: every Man retain'd his own Authority when you were preſent, as much as in your Abſence; nay, many were the better obey'd, becauſe 'twas found they were by you reſpected. Wherefore being equally dear to all, you ſo intermixt the Authority of the Emperor with the Duty of a Fellow-Soldier, that as you exacted every Man's Labour and Endeavour, you were yet ſtill ready as a Friend and Comrade to relieve them. How happy then was the Army, whoſe Truth and Diligence you were ſatisfy'd in, not by hearſay, but by your own ſight and preſence? Nor could any cauſleſly detract from, or abuſe the abſent, for in thoſe Caſes you never lent a credulous Ear.

Now when the Deſires of the People have recall'd you, and you have demonſtrated your Love to your Native Country, by forgoing the Honours of the Camp: Your Journy home hath been eaſy, and modeſt, no way like the March of a Soldier. Nor is it the leaſt part of your Commendation that no Parent nor Husband needs ſtand in Terror at your coming. Chaſtity, ſo much by others affected, is

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to you ſo inbred and habituated, that 'tis ſcarce to be accounted one of your Vertues. No Noiſe nor Tumults have been in your paſſage, for preſſing of Carriages: No inſulting of Landlords, nor exacting of Proviſion. Beſides, by the Courteſy and good Behaviour of your Retinue, it look'd like the Journey of ſome General (ſuch a one as your ſelf) towards the Army; for there is no difference to be made either before or ſince you were made Emperor. How unlike was the Progreſs, or rather Devaſtation of one of our late Emperors; when he even made War upon the Country, deſtroying, plundering, and burning whereſoever he came, that one would think the Enemy whom he fled from had done the buſineſs. The Provinces make their Obſervation now, That that was *Domitian*'s March, not *Trajan*'s. Nor is it ſo much for your own Honour, as for the Advantage of the Commonwealth, that by an Edict you have ordered the Expences both of his, and your own Return to be made publick: That your Succeſſors may hereafter uſe to compute the Charges of their Journeys, as though they were to give an account to the Commonwealth how much they ſpend in going and returning. That they ſhould only take what's lawful for them to take, and

not ſuch things as I'm aſham'd to mention; and that future Princes may know, whether they deſire it or no, that ſo much your Progreſs coſt. And that they ſhould take examples by yours, and by *Domitian*'s; and know that men will take their opinions of them as they imitate you or him. Tho you have merited new Honours, and Titles for ſo grear Deſervings, yet you refus'd the Appellation of [*Pater Patriæ*] the Father of your Country.

How long did we contend with you? And how late was't e'er we obtain'd? That Name which others have aſſum'd the very firſt Day of their Inauguration, you out of a mean regard to your own deſervings did defer, till you ſhew'd the World that 'twas your due by Merit; ſo that it fell *to your ſhare only to be the Thing* before you had the Name, for you were *it* in every man's opinion and judgment; nor did it ſignify any thing to the Publick by what Name you went, ſaving that we ſeem'd ungrateful to call you rather Emperor, and *Cæſar*, when we had ſo much experienc'd your paternal Care over us; which Property with what Bounty and Indulgence do you exerciſe it, by living among your Subjects, as a Father does among his Children? And as you went from us only a private Perſon, but return'd Em-

Emperor, you thankfully acknowledg it, and are as willingly obey'd. You think no better of your ſelf now than heretofore, your regards for us are full the ſame, you ſtand upon the ſame Level, with This only difference, that *the greater your Quality, ſo the more eminent are your Deſervings.*

For firſt of all, how joyful a Day was it to every Man when you came to Town? Other Emperors us'd to be brought in, not only in their Triumphant Chariots, drawn with White Horſes four abreaſt, but upon Mens Shoulders, *which was yet more Arrogant.* But you for your part being only taller and of a more Goodly Perſonage than others, made your Triumph not upon our Patience, but upon the Pride of former Princes. Wherefore neither Age nor Sex, nor Sickneſs, could detain any from running out to behold ſo unuſual, and ſo glorious a Spectacle. Every Body both Young and Old, Men, Women and Children, rejoic'd to ſee you, to know your Perſon, and diſtinguiſh it. Nay, the very ſick, neglecting their Phyſicians, thought if they could but have a ſight of you they ſhould recover; others were ready to ſing their *Nunc dimittis*, ſince they had ſeen, and receiv'd the Emperor; others were as willing to live longer. The

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Women wiſh'd to be with Child, were raviſh'd when they obſerv'd how good a Prince, and brave a General they brought forth Children to be govern'd by, either as private Subjects, or as Soldiers. Here you might ſee the Windows, and the Roofs of Houſes loaden with Spectators, no place throughout your Paſſage empty; the Ways crouded, ſcarce room ſufficient left for you to paſs; the People univerſally teſtifying their Joy by their Acclamations, and Huzza's.

The joy of your Arrival was equal to the Expectations we had of you, which increas'd the higher the nearer you approach'd us. It rejoic'd every Man to ſee you receive the Senate with a Kiſs, the ſame Ceremony that paſs'd between you at your departure. 'Twas grateful to every Man to ſee you know all the People of Quality by Name without the help of an Introductor: And that beſides the kind Reception they found with you, you ſhew'd your ſelf familiar, but moſt of all, that you proceeded with a conſtant and an even Behaviour to People of all Conditions, who came to pay you their Devoir; that you allow'd ſuch free Acceſs, and the very day of your Arrival admitted every Body; nor were you ſurrounded by your Guards, but ſometimes by the Senate,

nate, otherwhiles by the *Equeſtrian* Rank, as either of them could get near you; that the Lictors quietly, and ſilently march'd before you; for as for the Soldiers, both for the Modeſty of their Habit, and Behaviour, they no way differ'd from other People.

But when you mounted to the Capitol, what a joyful Remembrance was there of your Adoption? And how particularly glad were they to ſee you there, who in the ſelf-ſame place had firſt proclaim'd you? 'Twas then I thought the Gods were moſt peculiarly delighted with an Action of their own performance: For when you appear'd in Perſon in the Place where the Emperor *Nerva* publiſh'd the grateful News, how was every Body there tranſported! What new Acclamations! How like the Day 'twas done upon! How Nobly were the Altars every where adorn'd, and fill'd with the richeſt Sacrifices? *How did not all Men vow, and pray for your Proſperity, when they thought they at the ſame time prayed for themſelves, their Wives and Children, as they prayed for you?* Thence you proceeded to the Palace, but with the ſame Countenance and Modeſty as if you had been going to a private Houſe. Others went and rejoiced at home where there was no neceſſity of ſhewing it.

it. Such an entry had been too much for another Prince: But you are every day more desirable than other; *For you appear that Prince in present, which others at their first accession promise to be hereafter.*

The longer you live, the better and more desirable you grow. You have wonderfully reconcil'd two different things, the Security of your Government hereafter, and the Decency of the beginning of your Reign. If your Subjects approach your Person to salute you, you don't expect they should fall prostrate at your Feet; or if they'd kiss your Hand, you kindly yield it to them. Your Humility is still the same, for if you went before on foot, you do so still; you lov'd before to labour, and take pains, you do so still; every thing about you is the same, your Advancement having no way chang'd you. We are now allow'd when our Prince appears, to stop, to meet, to walk by, and to accompany him; you appear amongst us as a Man, not standing like a Statue, or a Pillar; and give access to all, not with design to upbraid any, for so oft as any apply to you they are sooner silenc'd by their own modesty, than your refusal. We are govern'd by you, and subject to you, yet still according to the Laws, which tho they restrain us from Avarice, and from

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Licentiouſneſs, yet ſtill we are allowed to read and be acquainted with them. Your Perſon is as eminent and excellent as your Dignity or Power; which tho they are ſuperior to, and above us, yet are they ſtill but human Attributes. Your Predeceſſors out of Pride, and of Diſdain to their Subjects, and out of fear of an Equality between them, us'd not to walk on foot, but were carried upon the Necks or Shoulders of their Slaves. But your Honour, Fame and Piety, together with the Freedom you allow us, give you the Preheminence by far above thoſe Princes: And for your kind and courteous Carriage to your People, you are extoll'd and prais'd to the very Stars.

I am not afraid, my Lords, of ſeeming tedious, ſince the things we are to return Thanks for to the Emperor are many. 'Twill perhaps look more reſpectfully to paſs ſome few things by in ſilence, and refer them to you to conſider, rather than any way inſiſt upon them: Yet however, thoſe things which leaſt require to be remembred are conſiderable. For inſtance, the Preſents made to the ſeveral Companies of the City, the great Donative to the common People by themſelves, tho the Soldiers were to have part. 'Tis an Argument of a generous Soul to give there

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the freeſt, where with moſt ſafety it might have been refus'd. Yet in all this great Diverſity the greateſt Equity was obſerv'd: For the Soldiers were to have an equal ſhare with the People, and to be firſt ſatisfied; 'twas all perform'd at once, and all Parties went away contented.

Beſides, how bounteous was the Dividend? and how careful were you that no Man ſhould go away without being made ſenſible of your Liberality? For thoſe who after Publication made of your intended Bounty, were look'd upon to have no ſhare aſſign'd them, were yet made equal to the reſt, tho they had no regular Claim. If any were abſent either through Buſineſs, or were detained by Sickneſs, or by being beyond the Seas, or in diſtant Quarters, they were notwithſtanding ſeverally taken care for: Every Body might come as they would, and as they could. 'Twas moſt magnificently done, Sir, and like your ſelf, to take care by your Beneficence for the moſt diſtant Countries all at once, to interpoſe your Charity to Mens Neceſſities, and to help on their Fortunes by your Aſſiſtance in the Diſtribution of your Bounty; that every one might be made ſenſible that he was regarded not only as a Subject, but as a Fellow-Creature of the ſame Species with your

your ſelf. 'Twas uſual upon the Days of former Donatives, for the People to obſerve the Time of the Emperor's going abroad, to fill up all the Ways, to bring their Children, to lift them up upon their Heads and Shoulders, and to teach them little pratling Compliments, which they repeated as they were taught, like ~~little~~ Parrots: and the greater Number of them worrying the Prince to no purpoſe, knew not what they ask'd, nor what was granted, till at length they were given to underſtand that their Suits were all put off. You ſuffer'd not your ſelf ſo much as to be ask'd; and tho it was a moſt pleaſing Sight to you to behold ſo numerous a Concourſe of the *Roman* People, yet e'er they had either ſeen your Perſon, or heard you ſpeak, you commanded all of them to be admitted, and their Names ſet down, that from their very Infancy they might acknowledg you as their common Parent for the Education they receiv'd from you; that they might be bred up at your Expence, who were hereafter to become your Servants, and might individually ow as great Obligations to you as to their natural Parents. 'Twas wiſely acted, Sir, thus at your own Coſt and Charges to breed up the Hopes of the *Roman* Name: For there is no ſort of publick Charge

Charge more worthy of a generous Prince, whoſe Name deſerves to be immortal, than that he hath been liberal to Poſterity.

* *The Papian and Poppean Laws.* vid. Suet. in Vit. Aug. & Liv. cap. 38.

The * Laws made to incourage Matrimony, and the Penalties inflicted for remaining ſingle, are good Inducements to wealthy People to have Children; but the greateſt Encouragement to the poorer ſort is *a Good Prince*, who if he does not bountifully reward, cheriſh, and encourage the Children born in confidence of his Kindneſs, he only haſtens the Downfal of the Empire and of the Commonwealth: for 'twill be in vain to ſupport the Nobility, if he neglects the People; they'l look like a Head without a Body, and be ſoon depreſt by their own unequal Weight. 'Tis eaſy, Sir, to imagine how great Joy poſſeſt you when you heard the Acclamations of Parents, Children, old Men, Infants, Boys, at your Arrival. This firſt Welcome from the little ones fill'd your Ears. From you they expected to be fed, which you had generouſly done, tho it had ne'er been ask'd. But above all, we are happy under you in this reſpect, that we are incouraged both to procreate and breed up our Families. No Parent need be terrified upon

upon his Son's account more than for the common Incidents to Human Frailty, *ſince the Princes Wrath is no longer reckoned amongſt our incurable Diſeaſes.* 'Tis a mighty Incouragement to breed up our Children in hopes of being maintain'd, and of being rewarded; but 'tis yet a greater to be aſſured that they are born to Liberty and Safety. Were it ſo, that tho the Emperor gave us nothing, yet if he took nothing away from us; if he bred up none of our Children, yet ſtill if he ſlew none of them, People would however not be diſcouraged from having of Children. But if, on the contrary, he gave with one Hand, and took away with another; brought up our Children, and then knock'd them on the Head; there's no body but in a little time would think themſelves, their Parents and Poſterity miſerable. Wherefore I know nothing ſo generous in all your Liberalities, than that what you give us is your own. Nor are your Subjects Children fed, as Beaſts of Prey do their young ones, with Blood and Slaughter; and what's moſt grateful to the People is, that they know that what they receive from you, is not taken away by Violence from others; and that tho ſo many be enrich'd, yet no body but the Emperor is the poorer for't, nor he neither: *For be-*

*ing entirely Maſter of the Peoples Affection, whatſoever they poſſeſs, 'tis all his own.*

But, your many glorious Deſervings call me off. What then ſhall I ſay? or how ſhall I ſufficiently admire and venerate you? that you have thus freely given away ſo much Money; not to appeaſe the Subject for any Act of Tyranny or Cruelty, nor to waſh off any Stain of that ſort, nor to ſilence the Diſcontents and Murmurs of diſaffected Perſons, by affording them Objects of better Hope. You have not expiated any Crime by your Bounty, nor made amends for any ſort of Cruelty by thus feeding the Poor. Nor have you done a good Action to ſecure your ſelf from the Reſentment of any Evil that preceded. 'Tis the Love, not the Pardon of the *Roman* People you have acquir'd by this your Generoſity; all People went away oblig'd, and not appeas'd, from your Tribunal: For being ſecure of your own Safety, you freely gave to thoſe who conceived a mutual Satisfaction. For what former Princes gave heretofore to allay the Hatred of the People, you preſented them with it with an unſpotted Character, and they as candidly receiv'd it. There are no leſs, my Lords, than 5000 Children of the beſt *Roman* Families, whom the Emperor's Generoſi-

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ty has ſought out, and taken into his Patronage, who are to be all brought up at the publick Charge, to be a Support to the Commonwealth in time of War, and to be Ornaments to their Country in time of Peace; and who are all inſtructed to love their Country, not ſo much becauſe they had their Birth, but their Education from and in it. Theſe are to be the Men who muſt ſupply the Army, and be the Chiefs of other Civil Societies and Corporations, from whom an Offspring ſhall deſcend who will be enabled to maintain themſelves. , May the Gods, Great Sir, continue and prolong the Life that they have given you, as you deſerve; and the more Children you find out, and enter into your Regiſter (for their Number daily increaſes, not becauſe the Children are the dearer to their Parents, but becauſe the Emperor deſires to breed and bring up worthy Men) the more of this ſort of Bounty may you beſtow: but all turns to your own account, for 'tis for your Service they are born.

I look upon the great Quantities of Grain laid up, to be equivalent to a perpetual Donative. *Pompey*'s Care in this very matter turn'd as much to his Honour, as the Laws he made againſt Bribery in the Election of Magiſtrates, his ſcouring

the Seas of Pirates, or his Triumphs over the *East* or *West*. But as great a Patriot as he was, he came far ſhort of what our preſent Emperor has done; who by his Authority, Advice, and Credit under him repoſed in the publick Faith, hath made the Roads ſafe, open'd the Havens, and ſo ſecur'd the Commerce both by Sea and Land, that the moſt diſtant Countries trade together with that Security, that the peculiar Growth of any one Province is become common to all. Is it not apparent that without Injury to any, the Year abounds with every thing for our Accommodation? for the Harveſt is not taken by Rapine as from an Enemy, nor kept up in Granaries till 'tis ſpoil'd, nor brought away from our Allies againſt their Wills. They themſelves bring us what their Land produceth, the Sun ripens, or the ſeveral Seaſons of the Year afford; nor do they fail the Payment of their former Taxes through new-laid Impoſitions. The publick Bank buys in the Surpluſage of the Market, and ſells it out again at reaſonable rates. This begets Plenty and Content, nor do we hear of Want or of Famine any where.

*Egypt* was wont to boaſt, that for producing and raiſing of Corn they needed not the Heavens nor Rain; for being o-

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verflowed by the River *Nile*, and accuſtomed to enrich their Ground by no other Moiſture, their Harveſt us'd to be ſo plentiful, that they ever contended with the moſt fruitful Regions; yet was this very Province by an unuſual Drought of late perfectly burnt up to Barrenneſs. For the River happening not to overflow its Banks, made not the uſual Inundation, ſo that the ſeveral Mouths and Channels of it look'd like ſo many ſeveral great Rivers. For this reaſon a very great Quantity of their Lands, which us'd conſtantly to be overflow'd, was parch'd and utterly burnt up to Duſt. The *Egyptians* then in vain began to obſerve the Clouds, and wiſh for Rain, when they ſaw their Country, formerly eſteem'd the Granary of the World, reduced to thoſe Extremities, which they were wont to ſupply in other Parts. For the River which us'd to cover the Tops of Hills, was not only now kept back, but contained it ſelf within its Channel, not leaving ſo much Moiſture as to prepare the Ground for Tillage. Wherefore the Country thus depriv'd of their Inundation, wherein their Hopes conſiſted, began to implore the Emperor's Aſſiſtance, as they us'd to do their Rivers: Nor did their Complaint laſt longer than the News of it arriv'd. For, Sir, your

Authority is obey'd with that Diſpatch, and your Bounty is ſo inclinable to ſupply your Subjects Wants, that 'tis ſufficient if you but know of their Neceſſity. I wiſh for mine own part grateful Seaſons, and Years of Plenty to all Countries; however I can't but think that Providence caſt *Egypt* into this Condition to convince the World both of your Ability, and of your Vigilance. For when you deſerve to have every thing about you proſperous, is it not apparent that if any thing falls out adverſe, 'tis only to afford matter for your Vertues to encounter, and to increaſe your Glory? *Proſperity tries the Good, but Adverſities demonſtrate the Great and Noble Soul.* 'Twas boaſted heretofore that *Rome* could not ſubſiſt but by the Help of *Egypt*. That vain and empty People us'd to brag that they were the Men that fed their Conquerors, and that they had it in their power to ſupply or ſtarve us. We have made them now a Return for their Supplies, we have furniſh'd them with the Harveſt they wanted, and they have carried back the Stores they brought us. Let them hereafter know then by this Experience, that from henceforth we expect not Corn, but Tribute at their Hands: And let them know moreover that tho we can ſupport our ſelves

ſelves without them, yet are they ſtill our Servants. The River *Nile* may keep within its Bounds and Channel, that's nothing to *Rome*; nor need we ſend thither, unleſs it be to adviſe them to ſend us their empty Shipping to take in their Lading with us, and ſo return. Let 'em wiſh themſelves the good Winds and Weather homeward bound, which they us'd to wiſh for as they ſail'd outward.

It looks, Sir, like a Miracle, that the Plenty of *Rome* ſhould reproach *Egypt* and the *Nile* for Sloth and Barrenneſs. 'Twas your Care and Kindneſs that ſupplied them, and to ſhew the World that *Egypt* can ſooner want *Italy*, than *Italy Egypt*. That fruitful Country had been ruin'd had they been free and not dependent on the Empire. They were ſurprized by their unwonted Scarcity, and not more tormented by their Hunger than by their Shame, when you with infinite Charity obviated both. The Peaſants wondred to ſee their Granaries fill'd with Corn, which they had neither cut nor carried, what Fields it came from, or whether there were any other River in the Country. 'Tis your Bounty then has taken off the Scandal of their Poverty. And the productive River *Nile*, tho it hath oft overflow'd its Banks to the Advantage

of *Egypt*, yet it never made ſo large a Return of Honour to the Empire, as under you.

How will not all other Countries wiſh themſelves incorporated within the *Roman* Empire, when they ſee the Emperor both able and deſirous alſo to ſupply and bring back Returns of Wealth from all Parts as occaſion offers? when they ſee a far diſtant Country, divided from us by the Sea, as tenderly relieved and fed, as tho they were a Part of the *Roman* People? The Seaſons never are ſo plenteous as to be capable to furniſh every Country all at once; but if your Majeſty can't avoid a Scarcity in ſome Parts, yet you provide againſt the Effects of it. If you can't raiſe Plenty upon the Spot, you import it from elſewhere. You unite the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* by your Navigation, that all the World may be made ſenſible *how much better 'tis to be govern'd by the wiſe Conduct of a Monarch, than under the jarring Difficulties of a confus'd Liberty to be deprived the Benefit of Commerce.* For where Men trade ſeparately and as Interlopers, every Man's Loſs turns to his own Damage: But when they unite in Companies and Joint Stocks under a good Governor, there a Loſs is felt the eaſier by Particulars, but common Advantage ſhall

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accrue to all. But whether it be or not that a peculiar Providence preſides over every Country and great River, I wiſh that *Egypt*, of late ſuccoured by the Emperor's Beneficence, may be contented and recover their former Loſſes. Nor ſhall we require Intereſt from them, tho 'tis but juſt that they ſhould pay it: I wiſh rather that ſince 'tis not required, they may be hereafter able to bear the Scarcity of one Year's Harveſt which the unuſual Seaſon has denied them.

So much for the Good you have done your Subjects and Allies: now for the Spectacles you have exhibited; *Not effeminate and ſmutty Comedys to enervate and vitiate Mens Minds*, but noble and manlike Exerciſes, to encourage Men to generous Exploits, and to a Contempt of Death; that even in Slaves and Criminals there appeared an Emulation, and Deſire of Victory. And in obliging the People with theſe Entertainments, what great Liberality and Equity did the Emperor ſhew by being no way partial to the Combatants, or at leaſt too generouſly reſerv'd to have expreſt it? The People obtained what they ask'd, and were offer'd more than they deſir'd; nay the Emperor gave them their way, and bid them ask what they would; by which means many

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things were exhibited more than were intended, and others brought out into the Amphitheater as ſoon as thought on. How freely alſo were the Spectators left to their Applauſe or Cenſure? No Man was blam'd or counted impious as formerly, for not approving the Gladiators brought by the Emperor; no Man made a Spectacle, and drag'd away with a Hook in his Noſe to be burnt alive upon that account. That Emperor [*Domitian*] was mad and void of all true Honour, that made it Treaſon for Men to give their Opinions in the Theater, and that thought himſelf deſpis'd and vilify'd if People gave not their Applauſe to the Swords-men he appointed: Who interpreted their Opinions to the contrary, as a Violation of his Divinity; for, eſteeming himſelf a God, he would have his Fencers thought as ſacred as himſelf.

But how agreeable a Sight did you afford us, Sir, inſtead of thoſe deteſtable Exerciſes? Inſtead of condemn'd Slaves and Criminals to fight, and kill one another, you produc'd a Regiment of Spies, of Thieves, and of Informers. 'Twas not the Mountains, nor the Roads, but the Temples and Courts of Juſtice they had peſter'd. No Man's laſt Will and Teſtament, no Man's Eſtate was ſafe; 'twas

no

no matter whether Men had Children or no. The Covetouſneſs of our former Emperors gave Encouragement to this Miſchief; you were pleaſed to take notice of it, and as before you appeas'd the Mutinies of the Army, ſo you reſolv'd to do the ſame by the Courts of Juſtice. 'Twas you that firſt cut off and ſear'd this Gangrene, and by your provident Severity took care that the Safety of the People founded upon the Law, ſhould not hereafter be perplex'd and ſhaken by the Abuſes of the Law. Wherefore tho your Fortunes and Liberality diverted us one while by the fighting of robuſt and ſturdy Combatants, otherwhiles with ravenous wild Beaſts, theſe ſucceeded by as mild and as familiar Entertainments, tho you oblig'd us by the Diſtribution of private and ill-gotten Treaſure of your Predeceſſors, yet nothing was more pleaſing nor more worthy of your Imperial Dignity, than to expoſe the brazen Faces and long Ears of thoſe common Evidences and Knights of the Poſt. We knew their Countenances, and rejoic'd as over Victims offer'd to the publick Vengeance, when we ſaw the Raſcals led forth to their reſpective Puniſhments. Some were put on Shipboard upon ſuch tattered Veſſels as could firſt be ſeiz'd on, and ſo com-

committed to the Ocean; that the Country waſted and depopulated by their Villany might be rid of them, that if any of 'em happen'd to eſcape the Waves and Tempeſts they might live among the Rocks and deſolate Shoars, and waſt the miſerable remainder of their Lives in Poverty and Perplexity, leaving behind the Country, where they had been common Peſts, ſecure. It was a memorable Spectacle to behold this Fleet of Vermin ſet adrift, and forc'd to ſpread their Sails to every Wind, to ſee them toſs'd and ſhipwrack'd upon every Rock to which the Tempeſt drove them. It delighted us to ſee their Navy ſeparated as ſoon as they weighed Anchor, and to return our Thanks to the Emperor upon the Shoar, who without the leaſt diminution of his Clemency had committed it to *Neptune* to revenge the Injuries the Rogues had done us. 'Twas a ſufficient Teſtimony of the Alteration of the Times, to ſee thoſe guilty Wretches ſent to inhabit amongſt the Rocks, to which before-time many an Innocent Perſon had been doom'd: And to ſee thoſe barbarous Iſlands, where Senators had been before confin'd and baniſh'd, now fill'd and peopled with their proper Exiles, that ſuffer there 10000 Puniſhments not only to the

the Comfort of the Age in being, but as Examples to all Poſterity. Inſtead of taking away others Goods, they loſe their own: for their ejecting others from their Houſes, they are turn'd out of doors themſelves. Nor have they now occaſion to laugh at it, as they us'd to do when their impudent and brazen'd Foreheads were mark'd and branded by the Executioner. They may now read their Crimes in their Puniſhments, when their Fears exceed their Hopes, and they themſelves remain in as much Terror, as they were wont before to put others into. The Emperor *Titus* moſt worthily provided for our Safety and Satisfaction in this behalf, for which Divine Honours were decreed him; but how much more worthy will you be accounted to be enumerated amongſt the Gods, who have added ſo many famous Actions to thoſe of his for which he acquired Divinity? 'Tis even prodigious that when the Emperor *Nerva*, a Prince moſt worthy of ſuch a Son and Succeſſor as you, who had ſo much improv'd the Laws and Conſtitutions left by *Titus*, that he ſeem'd to have left nothing to be enacted after him; yet have you thought on and contriv'd ſo much, that one would think there had been nothing done before you. How great

great an Addition of Honour is this very thing to you? Your Glory breaks forth like the Morn, and Sunſhine, that imparts its Rays not ſeparately here and there, but that affords its Light in common, and at once illuminates the Univerſe.

How great a Satisfaction is it to obſerve the Treaſury quiet, and ſilent as 'twas us'd to be before the Days of Informing? 'Tis now a Sanctuary and a real Temple of Juſtice, not a Magazine of Rapine, nor a Receptacle of barbarous Extortion; tho heretofore 'twas the only Place in the World perhaps where under a good Prince, ill Men were yet too many, and too powerful for the Good. Now the Honour of the Law is reviv'd, and nothing ſuffer'd to be perverted from the publick Profit and Advantage. No Man's Penalties are excus'd, but Examples made, only with this Diſtinction, that Men ſtand in dread of the Laws, not of the Accuſer. Some Men perhaps may think you will not regulate the Exchequer, where your Fines and Forfeitures are levied, with that Exactneſs as the Treaſury, but they are miſtaken. For you know how as well to govern what relates to your own peculiar Property, as to the publick Income. We may now with Freedom challenge your Attorny or Soli-

citor

citor General to proceed in Court; tho this very Court was look'd on formerly as the moſt ſevere of any of the Benches, the preſent Emperor's Condeſcenſion in allowing Actions to be brought in it againſt himſelf, has qualify'd it. Nor are the Judges of it appointed by Patent, but by Lot: we may now except againſt and challenge the Bench: we may reject and give our Reaſons, and ſpeak out plainly; ſuch a Judg he is timorous and underſtands not the Happineſs of the preſent Government; let us have ſuch who know the Intereſt and good Intentions of the Emperor better.

*The Prerogative of the Prince, and the Rights of the Subject are now grown conſiſtent in the Courts of Juſtice.* And what's your greateſt Honour, Sir, is this, that Cauſes are often given againſt you in the Exchequer, which could never happen but under a gracious Sovereign. This is, Great Sir, of it ſelf; but 'tis yet more for your Honour that you have Perſons of ſuch Worth for your Solicitors, and Council learn'd, that the People deſire no better Judges: Beſides, People are free to object and ſay, This Man ſhall be no Judg in my Cauſe. You impoſe no Neceſſity upon your Officers, as knowing it to be a ſpecial Grace not to make uſe of them but upon

upon juſt occaſions. Neceſſity of State oblig'd our former Princes to introduce divers new Taxes and Impoſitions, which tho of uſe to the Commonwealth, yet were they burdenſom to particular Perſons; ſuch was the Exaction of the twentieth Penny by way of * *Relief*, a Duty eaſier to the Heir in diſtant Provinces than amongſt the *Italians*; for upon the latter 'twas exacted, the others got it off. For 'twas apparent how uneaſily it would be gather'd, and how Men would grudg to be diſtrain'd, and to have their Goods taken away by force, which by Birthright, Law and Cuſtom ought to have deſcended to them. Theſe they look'd upon as their own, in preſent Poſſeſſion, not in Reverſion, and ſuch as they might deviſe to their Heirs and Succeſſors. True it is, that the antient *Roman* Families claim'd an Exemption from this Law; others who came later to ſettle themſelves in *Rome*, and claim'd the Right of *Roman* Citizens, either by virtue of their coming from ſome Colony, or by Letters Patents of Denization granted by the Em-

* *This is a Term us'd in our* Engliſh *Common Law, where when the Lord had had the Wardſhip and Marriage of the Heir, he had yet Relief paid him, which was one full Year's Value of the Lands holden in* Chivalry.

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peror, were refus'd it, and were accounted even by their next Neighbours Foreigners in this reſpect: So that the great Privilege of being a *Roman* Citizen turn'd to a Diſadvantage, and ſerv'd only to excite Hatred, Diſcord, and a Neglect of Families, when the innocent Children ſuffer'd upon the Parents account, and that too for Defects out of their power. However there were ſome ſo much in love with the very Name of a *Roman* Citizen, that they thought it ſufficient even to make amends to them for this Tax of the twentieth Penny, and for their Loſs of what ſhould have deſcended to them by right of Affinity: Theſe truly deſerv'd their Freedom the more, for the Value they put upon it. For this reaſon the Emperor *Nerva* enacted, that where a Woman died ſeiz'd of an Eſtate, it ſhould deſcend to her Children; and where likewiſe Children died ſeiz'd of an Eſtate, having only a Mother, it ſhould deſcend to her, freed from this Tax of the twentieth Penny, tho the Family when they were firſt regiſtred Freemen of *Rome* were barr'd their Right of Affinity. He likewiſe granted the ſame Immunity between the Father and Son, provided the Son was within the Father's Tuition. However the Emperor accounted it unworthy, inſo-

lent, and next to impious, to allow this Privilege to any Exciſe-Man, or Subcollector of the Cuſtoms; nor would he ſuffer the preſſing Neceſſities of the State to be defrauded without ſome great amends made: yet ſtill he look'd upon no part of the Revenue ſo conſiderable, but that he choſe rather to part with it, than to deſtroy the Privity between Parents, and their Children.

Hitherto the Emperor *Nerva* put perhaps a reſtraint upon himſelf in the publick Character of a Prince, as being reſolved to dilate himſelf the more in that of a Father. For being to adopt ſo excellent a Son as You, he added this part of an Affectionate Parent, that being content to have only marked out ſome things neceſſary to be reformed, he left the Honour entirely to you to finiſh them. You therefore preſently builded upon his Foundation; and to the end that the Father might be free in his Affections, and the Son in the deſcent of his Inheritance, you reſolved that you would not immediately upon his Death forget he was your Father. 'Twas generouſly done, Sir, not to lay a Tax upon Parents Tears, to ſuffer the Sons Eſtate to go to the Father, and not to permit others to have a ſhare in the Inheritance who bore no part in the Loſs nor Grief,

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to ſuffer no Man to be call'd to account for ſo dear and freſh a misfortune, nor any Father to be compel'd to ſhew what his Son had left him. I inhance, my Lords, the value of this Conceſſion, when I make appear the reaſon of its Liberality. For 'tis Ambition, Vanity, Profuſeneſs, and what you will, rather than Bounty, which is not founded in Reaſon. Wherefore, Sir, 'twas worthy of your Clemency, to leſſen the misfortune of Mens loſing their Children, and not to ſuffer them upon it to be affected with other Loſſes. 'Tis a thing miſerable enough of it ſelf, for a Father to be ſole Heir to his Son; but much more to have Collectors of the Taxes come and claim their ſhare too of the Eſtate. Furthermore, when *Nerva* had appointed that the Children in the deſcent of their Parents Eſtate ſhould be acquitted of this Twenty Penny Duty, it ſeem'd reaſonable that Parents on the other hand ſhould enjoy the ſame Privilege in what fell to them from their Children. For what reaſon is there that greater deference ſhould be paid Poſterity than to our Anceſtors? or why ſhould not equity be extended equally to Parents as well as to Children? But you, Sir, have done more, for you have abrogated that Exception, provided always that the Son were within the Father's Tui-

tion, having, as I ſuppoſe, a regard to the Law of Nature, *which ever implies Children to be within their Parents Juriſdiction, and not that Men ſhould live like Beaſts, where he that is ſtrongeſt governs and domineers over the reſt.* For being not yet ſatisfied to have excuſed the firſt Degree of Kindred from this Impoſition, you have exempted the ſecond, by providing that Brothers and Siſters, and ſo *e converſo* Siſters and Brothers, Grandfathers and Grandmothers, with their Grandchildren of both Sexes, that all theſe in the deſcent of an Eſtate ſhould be mutually diſcharged: So that by this means the Privilege of the *Roman* Citizens extends it ſelf with the ſame Indulgence throughout all *Italy*, the Rights of Affinity and Conſanguinity being preſerv'd intire according to the Laws of Nature, a Privilege which other Princes were proud to be petition'd for, not that ever they deſign'd to grant, but that they might ſhew their Authority in refuſing it. By this the World may ſee both your Benignity and Clemency in reſtoring of Eſtates diſpers'd and ſhattered, by making up the breaches of Inheritances, and commanding them in a manner to commence anew, by thus voluntarily conferring what your Predeceſſors had refus'd, and granting that in gene-

general which hitherto particular People could not obtain, and laſtly by depriving your ſelf of the occaſion of doing ſo many Kindneſſes, and of the opportunity of receiving ſo many Thanks. I'm humbly of Opinion that you thought it an unworthy thing, that Men ſhould come to you wi h Petitions for what the Laws of God and Nature had allow'd. Be the caſe now then between Brother and Siſter, Grandfather and Grandchild; the Emperor hath granted it to be determin'd even as Nature caſt it, and of his further Charity believes it to be as unjuſt to let Inheritances devolve with theſe Incumbrances to the Heirs, as to diſinherit them. Let us depart with Joy and Thankfulneſs then to our own Countries, ſince we can there enjoy the Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, none of us being by this burdenſom Impoſition to be deprived or dock'd, but to enjoy the ſame dear Pledges which we held before; and that too in a more comfortable manner, for none ſhall be depriv'd or barr'd hereafter of his Birthright upon account of living abroad, nor be compel'd to pay a Tax for the Eſtate deſcended to him; the Emperor as a common Parent having forbidden his Officers to demand any thing: A ſmall Eſtate now lying at a diſtance is diſcharg'd the Duty, and the grate-

ful Heir, if he be ſo minded, may lay it out upon the Funeral, or to erect a Monument to the Memory of his Anceſtor; no body hath now Authority to take cognizance of, or to forbid it. By whatſoever way a Man comes to an Eſtate, either Real or Perſonal, he may ſecurely and quietly poſſeſs it. This Tax call'd the Twenty Penny duty was ſuch, that no Man could fall within the penalty of it but by coming to an Eſtate. The grievance of it now is converted into a ſatisfaction, and the former Injury into a Wiſh. 'Tis grown proverbial, that the Heir wiſhes to pay the Duty. Beſides, you have been pleaſed to add, that thoſe who were in arrear at the laſt day of payment ſhould not be aſſeſs'd: a thing which Heaven it ſelf could not effect; to forbid that thing to be which had already its exiſtence. However you provided and took care that no Man ſhould remain a Debtor for that Duty which was no more to be impos'd; you did this leſt we ſhould fall under the Government of ſome vicious Succeſſor, who if he ſhould be inclinable to fleece and pillage us, you have anticipated the Reſtitution both of the Goods and Lives of ſo many as he ſhould deſtroy or plunder. You have forbid that to be exacted which was due before your Acceſſion. Other Emperors,

rors, to ſhew their Indignation againſt thoſe who lay behind in their Payments, uſed to fine them with a double and quadruple Penalty; *you think you no way injure your ſelf in excuſing what never ought to have been levied, or letting it remain a deſperate Debt.*

You ſeem, Sir, ſtill, as tho you were Conſul, to be taking care of the People: for when I conſider how you have remitted the firſt Tributes from the Provinces payed by Cuſtom to the Emperor at his Acceſſion, to have made a vaſt Donative to the People and to the Soldiers, with the baniſhment of the Accuſers and Informers, methinks you ſhould be ask'd whether you have ſufficiently computed the Revenue of the Empire? Whether the Prince be rich enough to bear ſo great expences and acquittals? *For what's the reaſon that when other Princes your Predeceſſors took away and kept what they pleaſed, and yet were never the richer, you tho you have given to every Body, and taken nothing away from any, yet abound in every thing?*

Princes have never wanted thoſe, who with a grave and ſupercilious Countenance have pretended to advance the Treaſury; and many Emperors were of themſelves ſo covetous and ſo rapacious, that tho they had none to teach them, they'd

have found out ways enough to impoveriſh us. But you never yet gave ear to Flatterers, eſpecially not to thoſe who adviſed you to fleece your Subjects; they are therefore ſilent now and quiet, and forbear their adviſings, ſince they find no body inclinable to take them: by which means, as we have infinite obligations to you for your Bounty, ſo have we no leſs cauſe to rejoice in the amendment of our own Condition. Neither the *Voconian*, nor the *Julian* Laws enrich'd the Exchequer nor the Treaſury to that degree, as the Forfeitures for Treaſon levied upon innocent People; this you have wholly taken away, *by being contented with that Greatneſs, whereof none have been ſo deſtitute as thoſe who made their Imperial Dignity terrible.* Our Credit now's reſtor'd with our Allies, Piety to our Children, and our Servants learn to obſerve us. We are fear'd and reverenc'd, and accounted Maſters. The Emperor's Domeſticks are not now eſteemed his only Friends, but like Subjects in general; nor does your Majeſty repoſe your Confidence in Courtiers brought out of Foreign Countries, but in your Native People. You have remov'd all Domeſtick Tell-tales, and taken away at once, ſo to uſe the expreſſion, *that ſervile War*, wherein you have been as kind to

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Maſters as to Servants; for you have made the firſt ſecure, the others dutiful. For all this you are not covetous of Praiſe; your Modeſty perhaps allows you not to think that you deſerve it. Your Conduct is however grateful to us, who remember not long ſince an Emperor ſuborning Servants to accuſe their Maſters, and allledging Crimes which he thought fit to puniſh upon a ſimple Accuſation brought: 'twas a terrible and unavoidable miſchief, and which affected every body, when a Prince had ſuch Servants about him.

In the ſame manner are we bound to return our thanks to you, for that our laſt Wills and Teſtaments are ſecured, that one ſingle Perſon cannot go away with the whole Eſtate upon pretence of being Heir. You make no claim by falſe and counterfeit Wills, nor do you endure the Malice, Impiety or ill Nature of others to fly to you for refuge: Nor are you made Executor, becauſe others had diſobliged the Teſtator, but becauſe you deſerved it: Your Friends make you their Heir, others are free to refuſe it. Nor is there any difference between you in your publick and private Capacity, *but in both you are univerſally beloved, and make the ſame returns.* This Conduct, Sir, of yours will be hereafter found by experience to have brought not only

only a greater Treaſure of Honour, but of Profit to the Prince, whom Men will ſooner appoint their Heir for love than for conſtraint. Your Father *Nerva* gave away much, and you have equal'd him. Too many have forgot it, tho they live upon his Bounty, and you for your part reap no other Advantage but of Honour by it. *A Grateful Perſon makes Liberality pleaſing, but Ingratitude makes it glorious to the Giver, to the Eternal reproach of the Receiver.* But who before you ever valued his Honour above his Profit? Or what Prince ever look'd upon that as ours which he had given himſelf? For don't the Preſents of Kings and Great Men look like baits faſtned upon Hooks or Snares to take the Fiſh with? don't they always draw back a greater profit with them than they bring?

*How advantageous is it for a Man to come to proſperous Eſtate, having been firſt tried by Adverſity?* You lived amongſt us, and had your ſhare both of fears and dangers; you know, and by your own experience found it, how miſerable a Life even Innocent People led, and how wicked Princes are deteſted by thoſe very People who make them ſuch. You remember what you us'd to wiſh for, and to complain of as well as we. You therefore weigh the Duty of a Prince in the ballance of a pri-

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vate Man's Reaſon, and carry it better to us than you even wiſh'd your Predeceſſors to have done to you. This hath chang'd our Tempers to that pitch, that whereas before we were uſed to pray for an Emperor a degree only on this ſide the worſt, we can now bear none but the very beſt. No Man therefore knows either himſelf or you ſo little as to deſire to be your Succeſſor; the Succeſſion ſooner may devolve on any Man than he'l wiſh for't. For who would deſire to undergo that burden of Affairs which you ſuſtain? who would not be afraid to be compar'd to you? You know your ſelf the difficulty of ſucceeding a good Prince, and therefore ſtrove to ſet aſide your Adoption. Is it a mean or ſlight matter that no Man pays for his ſafety by baſe or ſordid compliances? Every Mans Life and Credit are ſecur'd. No wiſe or prudent Perſon cares to withdraw; for under a good Emperor, Vertue will be as ſure to be rewarded as it was antiently during the Commonwealth; and Perſons who have acted uprightly, have yet further rewards appointed them, beſides the inward content of a Good Conſcience. You approve the Conſtancy of your Subjects, and don't depreſs and keep under their vigorous and lively Spirits, as other Princes have done before you.

*Men*

*Men find their Account in being Honeſt*, tho 'tis very well when they but ſimply abſtain from Vice. Theſe are the Men whom you prefer to Honours, Prieſthoods, Governments. Theſe are they that flouriſh in your Opinion and in your Friendſhip; they are animated to be upright and induſtrious, when they find thoſe Vertues are rewarded. They incourage others to imitation, for Men become either good or bad as they find encouragement. There are but few Men ſo ingenuous, but that they willingly embrace either Vice or Vertue as they ſee it takes and obtains in the World; and if they find the Rewards due to Labour, Vigilance and Frugality, given to the Lazy, Stupid, and Luxurious ſort of Men, they follow the ſame Arts they ſee others thrive by; and ſuch as they ſee them, ſo do they deſire to be, and are.

Our former Princes, your Father *Nerva* and one or two more at the moſt excepted, delighted more in the Vice than in the Vertue of their Subjects: for every Man loves to ſee others like himſelf; or elſe becauſe they thought '*twould make them fitter for Slavery, which was the Government that they intended.* Favours were confer'd upon ſuch Objects. Perſons of Worth and Honour were laid by, driven into

into Corners, buried alive, nor ever ſuffer'd to appear, unleſs it were to ſtand their Trials, and to be made Examples. You make your Friendſhips with the beſt; and 'tis truly reaſonable that they ſhould become deareſt to a good Prince, who were diſgrac'd by a bad one. *You know that as there's a diverſity between being a Prince and playing the Tyrant; ſo a gracious Sovereign is moſt acceptable to them who have been lorded over.* Theſe therefore you promote and make conſiderable, to let the World know what ſort of Men and Manners pleaſe you; and for this reaſon you have not yet appointed a Cenſor or Governor of Manners, as being deſirous to make trial of us by Kindneſs rather than Severity. *Beſides, I know not whether a Prince doth not advance a Reformation, more by allowing Men to be good than by compelling them.* We become flexible and compliant whereſoever our Princes lead us; and ſo, to uſe the Expreſſion, we fawn upon and follow them. We covet to be in favour with, and to have our Actions approved of by them, which People of a different humour can't expect; and by continuing to be thus Obſequious we are come to that paſs, that almoſt every body lives after one Man's example; nor is the World yet ſo corrupted, that becauſe we have follow-

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ed ill Princes, we cannot therefore imitate a good one. Proceed then, Sir, and your own Intentions and Actions will have the full effect of a Cenſor. *For the Prince his Example is a Cenſorſhip, and that with a Witneſs.* This is that we obſerve and look at, for we ſtand not ſo much in need of Authority as of Example. Fear makes but an ill maſter of Manners. Men are better taught by Examples, which have this Good in them, that they demonſtrate the poſſibility of what they preſcribe.

What fear could have effected that which Men have done voluntarily for the Reſpect they owe your Perſon? One of our former Princes carried it, tho with great uneaſineſs to the multitude, that the *Comedians*, *Harlequins*, and *Scaramoucio*'s ſhould be baniſh'd *Rome*. Inſtead of this you have been petition'd by the People for what they mutinied againſt before, and they took that kindly at your hands that would not heretofore go down with them but by Force. They were as importunate with you to baniſh this ſort of Cattel, as they had been with your Father *Nerva* to reſtore them: You acted rightly in both, for 'twas fit to reſtore what an ill Prince had taken away, and then to caſhier them afterwards. For in things good of themſelves, yet acted by an evil Governour, this me-

method is to be obſerved, that the Author not the Action be exploded. The People therefore that uſed to ſee the Emperor himſelf act his part upon the Stage, and clap him, now rail at the Players, *and condemn Effeminate Arts, and Studies ſcandalous to the Age.* By which 'tis evident that the Emperor's Example influences the very Vulgar, when they all imitate him in a thing againſt the grain. Go on, Sir, but with the ſelf-ſame gravity, and that very thing ſhall be brought into Cuſtom and be Ala-mode, which would in former days have been thought the greateſt Violence imaginable. Men have already corrected their ill Manners, whoſe backs deſerv'd to have been corrected; and they themſelves are become Reformers, who wanted to be reform'd. Hence it is that no body complains of your Severity, tho every body's allow'd their Freedom to ſpeak out: for tho ſo it be that Men inveigh leaſt againſt that Prince, with whoſe Character they may make the boldeſt; yet on the other hand, there's nothing in this Age that Men rejoice and delight in more than in your ſelf. Good Men are advanc'd, and for ill ones (which is the moſt comfortable Circumſtance of your Government) they neither fear themſelves, nor are they dreaded: and to thoſe, whoſe

Lives

Lives you have amended, you have added this acceptation, that you did it not by Compulsion.

What a Reformation have you wrought in the Lives and Manners of the *Roman* Youth, especially the Nobility! and how desirous are they to adorn their Quality with Endowments answerable! What Honours have you not confer'd upon the Masters of Eloquence and of moral Philosophy! that those Studies and their Professors, whom the Brutality of former Governours punished with Exile, have under your protection recover'd new Life, and Vigour. For our former Princes, *conscious of their own Iniquity*, banish'd Arts and Sciences, *the natural Enemies of Vice, not so much out of Hatred as for the inward Aw and Reverence they bore them.* But you on the other hand embrace, love and incourage them. You are your self whatsoever they pretend to teach, and are as much fam'd and celebrated for being a Master in them, as for the encouragement you give them. Can any Person of the *nicest Breeding* but commend, of all other your Accomplishments, *your Affability and freedom of Access?* The Emperor *Nerva*, who was a Generous Prince, had it ingraven in great Letters over the Palace Gate, that 'twas *the Hall of publick*

*lick Reception:* But he had ſet it there to no purpoſe, had he not adopted a Succeſſor that reſolv'd to live in publick. How well does your Character agree with it, and every thing about you, as tho you had ſet the Inſcription there your ſelf? Neither the Courts of Juſtice, nor the Churches ſtand more free and open, no nor the Capitol it ſelf, the publick Hall wherein you were adopted and proclaim'd. Here are no Obſtacles to be found, no Affronts from Beef-eaters, or Door-keepers, that when a Man hath paſs'd through forty Doors he hath ſtill new difficulties to go on. Yet all this while both before, at, and beyond the *Preſence*, every thing's ſo quiet and ſo decent, that the meaneſt Family may take Examples of Modeſty and of good Order from the Emperor's Houſhold.

Beſides, with what Readineſs do you give Audience, not ſuffering People to attend, that notwithſtanding the many important Affairs lying upon you, you paſs the greateſt part of the Day at leiſure? We are not now terrified and afraid of loſing our Heads if we come too late as formerly; but when our Affairs require it, we come eaſy and chearfully to Court: And when your Majeſty admits us, you are often pleaſed kindly to reprove us, that

our own private Affairs, as being of greater conſequence, have detain'd and kept us off from attending you. 'Tis your Goodneſs, Sir, to excuſe us without any body elſe to mediate, tho at the ſame time you know that 'tis a Duty incumbent upon us all to come and frequent your Court; and for this reaſon you are pleas'd the more freely and frequently to afford us the ſatisfaction of ſeeing your Perſon. Nor after ſaluting you at your Levie do we run away, and leave the Room empty; but we remain and ſtay there, as if the Houſe were all our own: I mean the Palace, which that Monſter of Mankind *Domitian* had lately fill'd with Terror, where ſhutting up himſelf as in a Hold, ſometimes he beſmear'd the Walls with the Blood of his own Kindred, otherwhile he broke looſe to deſtroy and murder the worthieſt Citizens. Horror and Deſtruction waited at the Gates, and Men were equally afraid, whether they were admitted or kept out. We may add to this his fierce and horrid Aſpect, his proud and ireful Countenance, his pale Cheeks, ſometimes bluſhing, tho always impudent: No Man durſt approach or ſpeak to him, for he ever lov'd to be private and in the dark; nor ever car'd he to leave his Solitude, unleſs it were to make every Place

Place ſo where he came. Yet notwithſtanding his Security within thoſe Walls, where he had contriv'd and hatch'd up ſo much Miſchief, the Divine Vengeance overtook him, and his deſerved Puniſhment purſued him through all his Grotts and Labyrinths, as freely as if the Gates and Doors had been ſet open. 'Twas not then his Divinityſhip nor his ſecret lurking Holes could ſave him, where he us'd to hide himſelf, and live conceal'd, to the Abhorrence and Terror of Mankind. How much more ſafe is the Palace now, as 'tis defended not by *Domitian*'s Cruelty, but by the People's Love; not by Solitude and walling up the Gates, but by the frequent and ſolemn Concourſe of the Citizens? We may hence then learn by Experience, *That a Prince's beſt Guard is his own Innocence.* This is the inacceſſible and impregnable Tower and Fortreſs that needs no other Gariſon to defend it. *'Tis in vain for Princes to imagine they can ſecure themſelves by Terror, when they loſe the Affections of their People by their Cruelty. War raiſes War to oppoſe it ſelf.*

Nor do you paſs the ſolid Parts only of the Day thus in ſight and among us, but in your Diverſions you allow the ſame Society and Freedom. You always dine in publick, and are pleaſed to honour your

Friends too with your Company. You ſpeak to and anſwer every body kindly; and if in good Husbandry you contract the time of your Meals, you make it out in your Humanity. For you do not ſit ſullenly, e'er 'tis Dinner-time, before your Meat, obſerving every Man that ſits about you, rather flinging than ſetting down your Plate, and loathing to eat as being gorg'd, when thoſe you have invited go away a hungry; nor breaking Rules of Hoſpitality, do you withdraw into your Cloſet to indulge your ſelf in Luxury. 'Tis not therefore the Gold nor Silver Plate, nor the exquiſite Cookery of your Entertainments, but the Sweetneſs and Complacency of your Temper that we admire. With this we are never cloy'd, ſince we're aſſured 'tis all ſincere and true, and all perform'd wtih a becoming Gravity. Here are no foreign Mimicks nor bawdy Songſters to entertain the Prince at Table, but a friendly Invitation, free and liberal Diſcourſe, and a juſt Deference to Men of all Profeſſions. After a moderate Repaſt you ſleep a little, and paſs no part of your time with leſs Satisfaction than when your Affairs oblige you to be from us.

But tho we are made Partakers and Sharers of your Majeſty's Fortunes, how free

free yet notwithſtanding are we in the poſſeſſion of our own? For you don't do like your Predeceſſors, ſeize upon Mens Eſtates, that every Lake, Fiſh-pond, Park and Chaſe ſhould be annexed as a mighty Addition to the Crown, for the Emperor to glut himſelf with the Proſpect of ſuch a Patrimony as includes both Sea and Land. Yet ſtill what is there but you may call it yours? Your Patrimony extends it ſelf as far as your Empire. You imploy in the publick Service many of thoſe Eſtates which the former Emperors occupied, not that they could themſelves enjoy them, but to keep others out. The Nobility therefore now return again to their antient Seats, not ſuffering their Houſes to be inhabited only by Servants, or to fall to Ruin and Deſolation for want of uſing. We can ſee now noble old Houſes new repair'd, and looking freſh and flouriſhing. 'Tis a mighty Commendation to you, not only to have relieved and comforted your Subjects in their Perſons, but alſo in their Houſes, that you have ſtop'd their Ruin, brought back the Inhabitants, and preſerved many a noble Seat from falling, with the ſame generous Diſpoſition that they were rais'd at firſt. Tho theſe are mute and inanimate Objects, they ſeem however to rejoice that they are new garniſh-

ed, that they ſhall be frequented and one day inhabited by thoſe who ſhall know how to enjoy them. There is a mighty Auction proclaim'd in the Emperor's Name of Eſtates and Moveables to be ſold, which moſt ſeverely expoſes *Domitian*'s Avarice, who coveted ſo much when he poſſeſs'd too much already. For in his days, if a Man were Owner of a ſtately Houſe in Town, or had a pleaſant Seat in the Country, 'twas enough to make him a Traitor, and to be condemn'd and executed for't. Now the Emperor reſtores theſe very Eſtates to their right Owners, gives them new Livings and Seats; and for the ſpacious Gardens, Villa's and Houſes of Pleaſure near the Town belonging to the Emperor, we are allowed to buy, to purchaſe and poſſeſs them. The Prince's Bounty is ſo great, and the Times under him ſo ſafe, that he thinks us worthy to enjoy the ſame Delights and Recreations as himſelf: nor need we fear any hidden Diſguſt or ſecret Treachery in the matter. You allow the Citizens not only Privilege to buy, but you beſtow and give among them every thing for their Delight; nay you give thoſe things you were elected and adopted into. You transfer what's your own by Law, *and look upon nothing as your own, but all your Friends.*

You

You are moreover as ſparing in erecting any great new Buildings, as you are careful to maintain and keep up the old ones; wherefore now neither the Streets, the Houſes nor the Temples are ſhaken to their Foundations by prodigious Carriages of Stone. As you are the frugal Succeſſor of a moderate Prince, you are ſatisfied, and think you have rather too much: So that you are content to pare off ſomewhat, and to be without it; nay even ſome things which your Father look'd upon as neceſſary. He took to his own private uſe what the Fortune of the Empire brought him: But you ſeem ſatisfied with what fell to you only as Son and Heir to him. Then, how magnificent are you in the publick Fabricks? Here a Portico, there a Temple preſently is repair'd with that Expedition, that one would think it was rather altered or new furniſh'd over than compleated. Here one whole ſide of the *Circus* outvies in the Curioſity of building the faireſt Temple. You have made it a Theater worthy of a conquering Nation: 'Tis not ſo much the Building as what's exhibited within it that deſerves our Admiration; and chiefly among all the reſt, that the Prince's and the People's Seats are built with like Magnificence. Throughout the whole Building there's one conti-

nued Face and Symmetry, and the Emperor's Seat contriv'd with that Conveniency to behold the Games and Spectacles, that at the self-same time his Person may be to all as visible. Your Subjects now are suffer'd not to see simply the Bed-chamber, but the Prince himself, and that in publick sitting among the People, for whose Conveniency he hath made an Addition of five thousand Seats in the Amphitheater. They flock'd together the more against the time of your publick Donative, and your Liberality in this last point will undoubtedly augment their Numbers.

Had any of your Predecessors done but one of these great Actions, he had been pictured with a Glory round his Temples, his Statue had been cut in Ivory or cast in Gold, it had been plac'd among the Gods, and choicest Victims had been slain and sacrificed to his Divinity. You enter not the Temples but to perform your own Devotions, and care not that your Statues should be plac'd on any Altar, but in some lower Station as an humble Waiter or Attendant on the Deities. Thus you maintain the sublime Character of the Imperial Dignity, not by assuming to your self Divine Honours, but by paying to the Gods a just and perfect Deference. We therefore

fore find but one or two Statues of yours, and one of them of Braſs, within the Porch of *Jupiter*'s Temple; whereas not long before the Avenues, Aſcents and Courts ſhone all with Gold and Silver Figures: Or to ſay more truly, they were even polluted by them, when the Statues of inceſtuous Emperors were intermix'd among the Sacred Shrines. Therefore thoſe few of yours in Braſs remain, and will do ſo, ſo long as the Temple ſhall it ſelf continue. But for thoſe Multitudes of Gold and Silver ones, they have been ſacrificed to the publick Vengeance, every Man rejoicing. Men delighted to deface their haughty Countenances, to lay on with Sledges and with Axes, as if at every Stroke there follow'd Blood and Groans. The Peoples Joy was ſuch, they could not govern it, but glutted their Revenge in looking on the broken Legs and Arms, and to ſee at laſt the horrid and deteſted Trunks caſt down and melted; that inſtead of calling to their minds the Fears and Terror of the Perſons whom they repreſented, they might be tranſform'd to Plates and Diſhes and other Utenſils for Uſe or Pleaſure. With the ſame Reverence, Great Sir, you ſuffer not the People to give thanks to you nor your good Genius, but to *Jupiter*; for that whatever's

ever's due from us, 'tis all to him: for 'twas the Gift of Heaven to beſtow ſo great a Bleſſing to the World as You. Whereas it was the Cuſtom formerly for Flocks and Herds of Cattel to be drove along ſo thick that they could hardly paſs by one another, when the deteſted Image of the Tyrant [ *Domitian* ] was ador'd by the effuſion of as much Blood from Beaſts as he had took before from Men.

All I have ſaid, my Lords, or yet deſign to ſay of former Princes, tends to this, that I may ſhew how all their Manners were corrupted and depraved, which our preſent Emperor reſolves both to correct and to reform: I ſhould otherwiſe but tire your Patience, if I did not by Compariſon *ſet forth Vertue and Vice in their proper Colours*. Beſides, this is of all others the firſt and chiefeſt Duty of well-affected Subjects of the Emperor, to inveigh againſt the Memories of ſuch as had been wicked. *They do not ſufficiently love a good Prince, who do not expreſs their Deteſtation of a bad one.* Beſides, the greateſt Honour of our preſent Emperor is this, that in his days Men may ſafely make their Reflections upon wicked Princes. Can any Man reflect on it but with Grief, that even *Nero*'s Death hath been reveng'd? yet am I of opinion, that that very Emperor

peror [*Domitian*] who ſlew *Epaphroditus* for it, would have been contented, that *Nero*'s Name and Memory ſhould have been defam'd to all Eternity, rather than have had the ſame things ſaid of himſelf, tho he as much deſerved it. Wherefore, Sir, in all your Actions I compare you, giving you the Preference to many; for we may make bold to vindicate our ſelves with relation to ill Princes tho they are dead, *and by ſuch Examples give their Succeſſors to underſtand that the Memory of wicked Emperors can in no Age or Country be ſecur'd from the Execrations of their injur'd Subjects.* And that we may, my Lords, conſiſtently ſet forth the Cauſes both of our Joy and of our Sorrow, let us lament a little what we ſuffer'd lately: Under a gracious Prince we have the Liberty to do both. This both our private Thoughts and Speeches, and the occaſion of our Meeting here ſuggeſt. We may moreover ſafely commend a vertuous Prince, and reproach his Predeceſſors where they deſerv'd a contrary Character: *For where the People hold their peace of a former vitious Prince, 'tis then apparent that the Prince in being is ſo too.*

Beſides, what miſerable Flattery was in vogue, when the Emperor's Praiſes were celebrated in Revels and in Feaſtings by Fidlers,

Fidlers, Mountebanks, and Merry *Andrews*, with all ſorts of effeminate Poſtures, Geſtures and Voices? But what was worſt of all, was, that he ſhould be at the ſelf-ſame time commended in the Senate and upon the Stage by the Players and by the Conſuls. *You have baniſhed this ſort of Ribaldry, and are become the Subject of ſerious Poetry, and the eternal Honour of Hiſtory, not of ſuch ſhameful ſhort-liv'd Traſh as this: The Preſence in the Amphitheaters ſhall with greater Reverence ſalute you, the leſs your Name's made uſe of upon the Stage or in the Play-Houſe.*

But this is no great wonder, ſince it has been your Cuſtom with the greateſt difficulty to accept, or otherwiſe totally to refuſe thoſe very Honours which we the Senators have offer'd you. Nothing was heretofore ſo mean or trivial but it was debated in the Senate, and the Fathers forc'd to put on an affected Countenance, and with fawning Compliments to the Emperor to give their Suffrage. They were advis'd with for augmenting the Number of the Gladiators, and upon calling a Hall of Blackſmiths and Artificers: And as tho the Confines of the Empire were enlarged, they muſt one while appoint Triumphal Arches to be built of greater Height than the Temples; otherwhiles

whiles be conſulted with upon changing the Names of the Months to pleaſe the Emperor's Fancy; all which our late good Emperor *Domitian* gloried in as being matter of the higheſt Merit. But who amongſt us now, being requir'd in Council to deliver his Opinion, muſt ſtand up and make an Harangue in commendation of the Emperor? That 'tis otherwiſe, Great Sir, the Praiſe is yours, and we are obſervant to you becauſe you intervene among us, not to compel us to play a piece of Flattery, but to do Juſtice, and to perform our Function with the Gravity becoming Senators. *This is owing alſo to your Candour and Integrity, that what you are pleaſed to ſay or do, we may depend upon it.* Now as Buſineſs is brought before us, we may debate, conclude, and ſo diſpatch it; which before we could not, becauſe our Time was taken up in Commendations of the Emperor. Other Princes have been ſo haughty as to reject the Honours decreed them by the Senate, but none till your time have been ſo modeſt as to deſire them to forbear the Offer. This do I look upon to be more glorious than all the Titles we could give you; for which your Name deſerves to be engraven not in Wood or Stone, but in the eternal Monuments of Fame. 'Twill be

deliver'd

deliver'd down to after Ages, that tho you were a fortunate and popular Prince, yet that you never did desire but modest and moderate Titles and Honours, and often were content with none. And truly were we to contend with the servile Obsequiousness of former Times, we should be quite outdone. *For Dissimulation, Slavery and Fear, they are more ingenious Contrivers of Flattery, than Truth, Liberty, and Love.* All Acts of that sort then being tried and done with, the freshest Honour we can do to you is sometimes to be allowed to pass over your Name in silence. But if the Veneration we have for you sometimes breaks it, and overcomes your Modesty, how comes it to pass you don't refuse the Honours we appoint you? The reason is, because you would not seem with Pride and with Disdain to reject the greater and higher Titles, since you have vouchsafed to accept the lesser. This, Sir, is greater than if you had refus'd them all; that would have look'd like Ostentation: but in this appear'd your Modesty, that you condescended to accept the lesser. In this you are extremely kind both to us and to the Treasury, in setting bounds to your Expences, that you may not be obliged to defray your Charges by the squeezing of innocent People.

Hence

Hence it is that your Statues are erected in the ſelf-ſame manner as others have been dedicated to private Perſons heretofore, for their great Merits to the Commonwealth. They are made of the ſame Metal as thoſe of *Brutus* and *Camillus*: The Occaſion's all the ſame. They waged War with Kings, and beat off the conquering Enemy from our Walls; *You preſerve us from being enſlaved at home, a worſe Condition than Captivity: You fill the Throne as a Prince, and do not uſurp it like a Tyrant.* But when I contemplate your high Wiſdom, the matter's no ſuch wonder, that you ſhould either excuſe your ſelf the Acceptance of theſe frail and empty Titles, or elſe in Modeſty attemper and extenuate them. You know too well wherein the true and laſting Glory of a Prince conſiſts; and what thoſe Honours are which neither Age, nor Fire, nor an ambitious Succeſſor can prevail againſt. *Time will deſtroy and ruin both Triumphal Arches, Statues, Altars and Temples too; Poſterity alſo will neglect and cenſure them. But on the other hand, thoſe Princes who have deſpis'd Ambition, and managed well the Supreme Power they were entruſted with, reſtrain'd and govern'd their own Paſſions, they'l flouriſh to the utmoſt Diſtances of Time, and be commended in after Ages, even by*

*thoſe*

*thoſe who lie under no neceſſity to do it. 'Tis not therefore a laſting Fame; for that will be but an endearing Character that Princes ought to covet; this is to be obtain'd by Vertue and by Merit, ſooner than by Trophies and by Statues. Theſe are but trivial things; for Gold and Silver never can expreſs the Shape and Beauty of a Prince, like the Affections and good Opinion of the People.* This you are happy in, ſince every Man retains in mind the Figure of your amiable Face and Countenance, nor are they ſparing with their Tongues to celebrate your Praiſes.

I preſume, my Lords, you have already obſerv'd that I am not ſelecting from common Places what I have to ſay; my Purpoſe is to commend the Emperor's Perſon, not his Actions, for many a good thing hath been done by an ill Prince: But I can't pretend to commend our preſent Emperor, *but under the Denomination of the Beſt of Men.* Wherefore, Sir, your Honour is in nothing ſo conſpicuous as in this, that we who are to return you Thanks, find no neceſſity to conceal, or any way to palliate any part of your Character. For what is there in all your Government that any Man ſhould wiſh to paſs it over or to hide it? There is not any part of your Life but you have liv'd it for the publick Good, and therefore none of it but challenges its Com-

Commendation: Wherefore no Man can ſo properly write your Panegyrick as he who faithfully ſpeaks the Truth. I might enlarge *in infinitum*, tho I have but two Years of you to ſpeak of. Tho I have ſaid much of your Moderation, yet there remains Abundance; for inſtance, that you accepted the Conſulſhip a ſecond time becauſe the Emperor *Nerva* your Father confer'd it on you: But when Heaven advanc'd you to the Empire and to the Diſpoſal of your ſelf, then you refus'd the Office when 'twas the third time offered, tho no Man was ſo capable to undergo it. *'Tis an Argument of the greateſt Modeſty to excuſe ones ſelf from Honour, nay 'tis glorious.* I know not then which moſt to admire, whether your Behaviour in it the ſecond time, or your refuſing it the third. For you undertook it not in Times of Peace and of Tranquillity, as now, but as they were us'd to do who chang'd their Conſul's Robe to put on Harneſs, and to purſue their Victories into foreign Countries. 'Twas worthy of the Empire, glorious to your ſelf, and honourable to the Conſulſhip, to have your Friends and your Allies attend you, not within the Walls of *Rome*, but in diſtant Countries; to ſee after ſo many Ages now elapſed, the old Simplicity of our firſt Magiſtrates revived, the

Conſul's Seat erected in the open Fields upon a Turf, to be ſurrounded not by the Lictors only with their Rods and Axes, but by the Officers and Soldiers too with their Arms and Colours. 'Twas an Addition to your Greatneſs to be petition'd by People of divers Habits, Nations, Languages not to be underſtood but by Interpreters. 'Tis honourable to do Juſtice upon the Bench at home, much more to be the Arbitrator amongſt Enemies abroad, and to decide Controverſies by Victory and by the Sword, as well as to pronounce Judgment in the Courts of Juſtice. 'Tis Heroick to encamp your Army upon the Banks both of the *Rhine* and *Danube*, and to remain in Safety unmoleſted, to deſpiſe the barbarous Threats and Howlings of the Enemy, and to reſtrain their Fury as well by the Civil Power of the Gown, as by the compulſive Terror of the Sword. Wherefore Strangers that come to ſee your Camp, are not as heretofore ſhew'd the Picture or the Statue of the Emperor, but they are admitted to the *Preſence*, and ſalute you by the Stile of Emperor; a Compliment paid your Predeceſſors by People conquer'd and ſubdu'd, but to you by thoſe whom you have overlook'd and ſlighted.

This

This Commendation's due to you; for what you acted as Conſul, much more you have deſerv'd, for that in the beginning of your Reign being loaden with other Honours, you excus'd your ſelf, and forbore the Conſulſhip, a Dignity aſſum'd by other Emperors at their firſt Acceſſion, even when others had been nominated. Some towards their latter end have forcibly reſum'd it, when the Year hath been well nigh finiſh'd. This very Honour then, which hath been ſo deſirable to Princes both at the beginning and ending of their Government, that they have raviſh'd it from thoſe that held it, you when the Place was vacant, have confer'd it upon private Citizens; you thought perhaps 'twould be invidious to obtain a third time the Conſulſhip, which however under the Character of Emperor might have been call'd your firſt: The ſecond time you enjoy'd it was, 'tis true, after you were Emperor, but whilſt your Father *Nerva* was yet alive. So that no great Honour ſeems to have accrued to you in the matter; nor can it be made a precedent in time coming: all that's to be ſaid of you therein is, that you behav'd your ſelf in it with reſpect and with obſervance to the good old Emperor. The City of *Rome*, who had ſeen the Office held by the ſelf

ſame Perſon five or ſix times over, not when the Liberty of the Commonwealth was ſinking, nor during any Faction; but as it had been confer'd on Perſons abſent and withdrawn to their Country Seats; at this time beheld a Prince as 'twere the univerſal Sovereign of Mankind, yet refuſing to be made the third time Conſul, as believing it a publick Grievance. Have not you in the Titles of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and *Pater Patriæ*, ſhew'd as great modeſty as did *Papirius*, or *Lucius Quinillus Cincinnatus*? If the Commonwealth invited them, ſo hath it done you. Have not the Senate, nay the Office done the ſame, as hoping to augment its Credit and Reputation by your Authority? I don't compare you to him who made the Conſulſhip almoſt perpetual, but to thoſe who when they were in the Office, executed it for the publick Good, and not to enrich themſelves. There was a Perſon in the Senate who had been thrice Conſul, when you refuſed it the third time. The Election of the Senate made you ſome way or other uneaſy, perhaps you thought we intended now you were Emperor to confer the Office upon you in that Character as often as that other private Senator had born it. This your great modeſty would have refuſed, altho you had been a private Per-

Perſon ſtill, Yet why, Sir, ſhould the Son of ſuch a Father who had been Conſul and had triumph'd, refuſe the Office a third time when he was called to it? 'Twas an Honour due both to your Birth and to your Merit; yet you allow'd that the Solemnities of the Year ſhould be begun and celebrated by private Perſons: This was perfectly to let us know we were reſtor'd to our Antient Liberty, ſince other Perſons beſides the Emperor were made Conſuls.

Thus the Year uſed to be begun after the Expulſion of our firſt Kings; thus when we had antiently driven out both them and their Tyranny, the Year took its Denomination from the Conſuls. They were miſerable Slaves to their Ambition, who continu'd Conſuls as long as Emperors; yet it cannot be called Ambition ſo much as Envy and Ill-nature for them thus to poſſeſs the Office, and not to transfer this high and honourable Dignity till they had worn it thredbare, and grew weary of it. But I'm at a ſtand whether to admire moſt your Magnanimity, your Modeſty, or your Bounty. 'Twas your Magnanimity to abſtain from it when 'twas offer'd, your Modeſty to yield it, and your Bounty to ſuffer it to be enjoy'd by others.

But 'tis now time you ſhould your ſelf

aſſume it, that you may give it the greater Luſtre both by your acceptance of and behaviour in it: *for to refuſe it always would look as tho it was indifferent to you, and as tho you thought it beneath you.* You refus'd it honourably, but People won't believe ſo, unleſs you are pleaſed to undertake it ſometimes. When you refuſe Triumphal Arches, Statues, Trophies, we are bound to excuſe your modeſty, for theſe things muſt and will be erected to you. *But we deſire you to teach your Succeſſors by your own example to caſt off ſloth, to poſtpone their Pleaſures, and for a ſhort ſpace to awaken themſelves out of their intoxicated Happineſs, to put on the Conſuls Robe, tho it be in their power to name a Delegate, to come into Court to perform the Function, and by it to ſhew themſelves ſuch as they ought to be, and not to deſire the Conſulſhip only out of Vanity, to boaſt how often they have born it.*

We know you executed the Office, once when you were with the Army, another time when abſent among the Provinces; but the City of *Rome* was not ſo happy as to enjoy your Preſence as their Conſul. We heard and only heard of the great Fame there was of your Integrity, Humanity, and Patience; but we deſire not always to give heed to Common Fame, we deſire to ſatisfy our Eyes and to convince

our

our Judgments. How long ſhall we be deluded by being told how bravely you behave your ſelf abroad? Let us ſee our ſelves whether your ſecond Conſulſhip hath puff'd you up or no. *Mens Tempers frequently are alter'd much by that time they have been but half a Year in the Office; how much more when the Dignity of Conſul and of Emperor meet together in the ſelf-ſame Perſon?* 'Tis common for Perſons of great Dignity, if they have any one eminent Vertue in them, to be celebrated as tho they were the very Quinteſſence of Vertue. But let us now ſee whether theſe two things can be conſiſtent, a good Conſul and a good Emperor. For beſides the difficulty of executing two the higheſt Offices at once, you have this further Nicety to encounter: How with the Character of a Sovereign to comport with the Conſulſhip an inferior Office, and how to attemper the Conſulſhip that the Office might not look too aſſuming when born by the Emperor.

I ſee then that the Reaſon of your refuſing it the laſt Year, was chiefly becauſe you were abſent and out of place to have executed it. But ſince to the joy of all Mankind you are arrived, what can you undertake more honourable to your ſelf or more deſirable to us? We are not ſatiſ-

fied with your coming into Court, unleſs you hold it; nor with your intervening in the Senate, unleſs you preſide there; nor with your hearing the debates, unleſs you ratify them. Would you reſtore the heretofore Auguſt Tribunal of Conſuls to its antient Splendor and Authority? you muſt then fill it your ſelf. Would you maintain the Reverence due to the Magiſtracy, the Authority of the Laws, *and keep perverſe and impudent Fellows in good Order?* put on the Robe your ſelf then. Were you a private Perſon ſtill, the Commonwealth would want you both to be their Senator and their Conſul; much more therefore now you are Emperor, it will import them to have you Conſul too.

Theſe high and weighty Reaſons did at laſt prevail upon your Modeſty, tho with reluctance. For in what humble wiſe did you give way to it? not to leſſen your ſelf by too low and mean a compliance; but however you allow'd Inferiors to ſtand in ſome ſort upon an equal level, for you accepted the Conſulſhip the third time, only that you might confer it. You were well acquainted with the Candor and Modeſty of the Men whom you knew would not accept the Office a third time, but in Partnerſhip with one who had been three times Conſul. 'Tis true, you ad-

advanc'd your old Comrades and Fellow Soldiers to it, Men who had deſerv'd well from you; but 'twas ſparingly, and where they had the long Robe as well as the Sword to recommend them. You were obliged to them for their care and vigilance in either Province. *But 'tis rare to find a Prince ſenſible of an Obligation; or if he be, 'tis yet not common that he owns it.* Where you are indebted, therefore, Sir, you pay. But where you advance Men a third time to be Conſuls, you ſhew your ſelf not ſo much a magnificent Prince as a grateful Friend. Moreover, there's not the leaſt Merit you diſcern in any Citizen, but you promote it by all manner of encouragement; and you ſo manage the matter, that whatever favour you beſtow, the Party who receives it never fails to make full acknowledgment of his Obligation. What then can I wiſh to be added to your Liberality, unleſs it be that you may ever oblige and be obliged, and leave it dubious whether it be more expedient for your Subjects to be indebted to you, or to become your Creditors for the affectionate Duty and Obedience they pay to you? Methinks I can here look back upon that antient Conſtitution of the Senate, where a Perſon who had been three times Conſul preſiding, put the Queſ-

Queſtion to, and took the Suffrage of another who was deſtin'd the third time to the Office. 'Twas a great and honourable thing to both, and the ſame thing hath now hapned to your ſelf. But this I muſt obſerve, that as High and Great Bodies ſtanding near to thoſe who are higher and greater, look the leſs; ſo the higheſt Honours that can be confer'd upon private Men, when they are aſſociated with you they look but meanly; and the nearer they approach the Imperial Dignity, they appear leſs than in their own natural and proper Station. You however, tho you could not make them equal to your ſelf, have ſet them up ſo high that they ſeem as much exalted above other Men as they are to you inferior. Had you devolv'd the Conſulſhip to a Perſon who had held it thrice already the ſame Year you were elected to it your ſelf, it had been an Argument of a great Soul. *And as 'tis undoubtedly no ſmall pitch of Happineſs to be in a Capacity of acting what one will, ſo 'tis as great an Argument of Magnanimity to effect and do what one can and may.* He was a Gallant Perſon who could pretend to deſerve the Conſulſhip a third time in any Age, much more in ſuch a Reign as yours: 'Twas a great and memorable thing to be ſo rewarded, eſpecially conſidering who

was

was the Prince that gave it. What! could nothing ſatisfy you leſs than to honour two ſeveral Perſons as your Collegues and Partners in the Office? 'Twas ſurely the only cauſe of your continuing in it, that you might oblige them both by aſſociating your ſelf to either. They had both not long before been Conſuls under your Father *Nerva*, which in effect was under you, 'twas but a little while that they had laid down the *Faſces*; the Noiſe of the Common Criers and of the Lictors ſcarce was out of their Ears, when they were call'd back again, to reſume the Purple, and to take their Seats upon the Bench. As heretofore when Enemies approach'd, and the State was brought in danger, then we wanted Men of experience to conduct us. *'Twas not Places for Men, but Men for Places that were requiſite.* Your Bounty is ſo great, that you have done that merely for Affection that was never wont to be done but upon the greateſt exigencies of the State. They had juſt laid down the Robe, and preſently reſume it; they had diſmiſs'd the Lictors, and immediately recal'd them; their Friends had juſt made their Compliments at parting, and came back again to congratulate. Theſe Powers belong rather to Gods than Men, thus to renew and to compleat Mens joys, never to let them

them be at reſt from Friends Congratulating, nor to ſuffer any Intervals between their Conſulſhips, but as it ends to begin again. May you ever be in a Capacity ſo to do, nor may your Fortunes nor your Mind be ever tired out here: may you live to advance many to be three times Conſuls; and when you have ſo done, may many yet remain who ſhall deſerve it.

*Whatſoever Favors are confer'd upon Men of Worth, Perſons of the ſame Character are as much pleas'd with it as they*; ſo that when theſe two Gentlemen were declar'd conſecutively Conſuls, 'twas not any one Party, but the whole Senate conceiv'd as great a Satisfaction in it, as if every individual Member had confer'd, or otherwiſe had undertook the Office. For theſe are, my Lords, the Men whom the Senate choſe of all others for their good Husbandry, and to leſſen the vaſt Expences of the Publick. This it was, and this only, that endear'd them to the Emperor. *Have not we by frequent experience found that where a Man hath been in favour with the Senate, it hath turned as often to his diſadvantage as to his profit with the Prince?* 'Tis not long ſince that nothing was more fatal than the Emperor's jealouſy of this ſort. Ho! This Man's a Favorite, he's become popular in the Senate. *The Emperor*

*peror hated thoſe that we reſpected, as we did ſuch as he had a fancy for.* Now the Conteſt between the Prince and Senate is, *which ſhall advance the worthieſt Objects. Now we agree in our Opinions, in our Elections; and what's the greateſt Inſtance of a mutual Affection, we love the ſelf-ſame Perſons.* Wherefore, my Lords, you may ſhew your Favours freely, and your Inclinations without conſtraint. *You have no need to diſſemble where you love, for fear of hurting your Friends, nor ſeem to hate them that you may do them good.* The Emperor and the Senate are agreed in what's to be allow'd or diſapproved. He hath promoted thoſe Perſons a third time to the Conſulſhip whom you your ſelves would have choſen, and done it in the ſame order as when you your ſelves were wont to elect. 'Tis happy on both ſides, that either his Majeſty loves thoſe beſt whom he looks upon as deareſt to you, or that otherwiſe he acts contrary to his own Inclinations to oblige you. Preferments and Rewards lie in proſpect to the elder ſort, and to the younger good Examples. The great Mens Houſes are free and open to them, nor can any Perſon make his Court to the Emperor ſo well as by making an Intereſt with the Senate: for whoſoever is advanc'd, he looks upon it that the Honour redounds to him, *and*

*values*

*values not himself that he is above every Body, unless he hath Men of the highest Rank and Merit to be superior to.* Pursue this Maxim, Sir, *and believe and account of us according to the publick Fame you have heard. We desire you only to see and give heed to this, and not to hearken to the clandestine Characters and private Whisperings of Malicious Men, who are to none so dangerous as to those that trust them. 'Tis much better to believe common Fame than private Men, for the latter may both deceive and be deceived; one single Man can't pretend to put the sham upon every Body, nor can the universal Opinion of Mankind deceive any.*

I return now to your own Consulship, tho there be many things belonging to it that fell out before. First of all, that you appear'd in Court not simply as a Candidate for this Office, *but as a Person who resolv'd to be Immortal, Glorious, and to give Example for Good Princes to imitate hereafter, and for bad ones to revere, and stand amaz'd at.* The *Roman* People rejoic'd to see you seated upon that Tribunal, which antiently they had a Right to elect to. You submitted to the previous Forms, and long tho not ridiculous delays of the Senate, and were at length made Consul, like one of those whom you took in to be your Associates. Which of our Emperors before you

ever

ever ſhew'd ſo much reſpect either to the Senate, or to the People? Was it not their Cuſtom to be doz'd and ſtupified with the fumes of the foregoing Nights Debauchery, and in that pickle to expect a Meſſage intimating their Election from the Senate? Others there were perhaps more vigilant, who ſate up late, but to contrive within their Cloſets either to baniſh or to murder thoſe very Magiſtrates by whom they were themſelves made Conſuls. Oh! Baſe Ambition unworthy of the Name of Majeſty, to covet the place and yet deſpiſe it, and to diſdain what they had before been fond of. And when from the adjoining Gardens they had the Houſe in proſpect, yet to abſent themſelves from the Aſſembly, as tho the *Rhine* or *Danube* lay between them! Could you do things ſo much beneath your Honour, and ſo unlike your ſelf, as imperiouſly and inſolently to command the Conſuls to let the People know, that not ſo much as the leaſt reſemblance of their antient Liberty remain'd? Could you refrain from coming to the Senate, conceal and hide your ſelf, not as tho you had been lately made Conſul, but as if you had abdicated the Empire? No! this was the opinion of our former Tyrants, who thought that they gave over being Princes, if they ever after it did any

things

thing as Senators. Yet many of them acted thus, not so much out of Pride as out of Fear; perhaps being conscious to themselves of their Adulteries and Incests, they had not Courage left them to presume to enter, and with unhallow'd Feet to pollute the Sacred Floor. *They had not so far cast off the fear of Men and Gods, as to be able to support the being look'd on by so great a Presence.* But on the contrary, your Moderation, and the Sanctity of your Life and Manners embolden you to appear, and shew your self in the Assemblies both of Gods and Men. *Others have deserv'd the Consulship before they attain'd it, you both before and since.*

The Solemnities of the Election had soon been over, and the Assembly all dismiss'd, had you insisted only upon your Character as Emperor, when you to the Admiration of all Men approach'd the Consuls Seat, and took the Oaths in Terms unusual to the Ears of Princes, unless when others swore to them. You see now, Sir, how necessary 'twas you should accept it. The World would never have believed you had been so just to the Commonwealth, had you refused it. I am amaz'd, my Lords, nor can I believe either my Eyes or Ears, but methinks I am apt to ask my self again and again how this can be? To have an Emperor, *Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex*

*tifex Maximus*, ſtand before the Conſuls Seat, the Conſul ſitting undiſturb'd and eaſy in his Authority as heretofore? and as he ſat he tender'd him the Oaths. *The Emperor took them, repeated and explain'd the Words, and devoted both himſelf, his Houſe and Family to the Indignation of the Gods, if wittingly or willingly he ever broke them.* This, Sir, was great in it ſelf, your Honour greater. Whether ſucceeding Princes ſhall think fit to follow your example or not, what Language can come up to the Dignity of this Occaſion; that he who introduc'd you as Conſul the firſt time, now performs the Ceremony a third, and hath the Honour to enſtal you ſo, now you are our Sovereign, as well as when you were a private Perſon; when you are Emperor as well as when you were a Subject? 'Tis hard to ſay which is the moſt Honourable Circumſtance to you, to have taken voluntarily the Oaths when no ſuperior Prince could have compel'd you; or otherwiſe that you condeſcended to be ſworn in concert with your fellow Conſul? In the Courts of Juſtice likewiſe upon the Bench, *you pay the ſame Religious Obſervance to the Laws, which none of our preceding Emperors would ſubmit to. But you diſpenſe with nothing in your ſelf, that we are bound to*; for which reaſon we are obliged to

wiſh it daily, that your Authority may be augmented. 'Tis the firſt time I ever learn'd or heard the Maxim ſettled, *That the Prince is not above the Law, but the Law above the Prince; that neither Emperor nor Conſuls can do any thing but what others lawfully may.* The Emperor ſwears in the preſence of God Almighty to obſerve the Laws; *and where can we imagine the Divine Preſence more immediately to be, than at ſuch Solemnities?* He takes his Oath to thoſe who are alſo bound to the ſelf-ſame thing, and by the ſame obligation; *being well adviſed that no Man can obſerve his Oath ſo well as he who knows it to be his Intereſt as well as his Duty to keep it.* Wherefore, as you went out of the Conſuls Office, you were ſworn again that you had done nothing contrary to the Laws. *'Twas a great thing for you to promiſe, but a greater that you were as good as your Word.* How Honourable therefore is it to you to come ſo often into Court to take your Seat below upon the Bench, leaving the Throne above you empty, here to accept and here to lay down the Conſulſhip? How unlike the Cuſtoms of your Predeceſſors, who for a few days were wont to have the Name, and then diveſt themſelves of the Thing by a publick Edict? This was all the performance they made of their Oaths, their Speeches,

Speeches, and their Declarations. The Concluſion generally agreed with the Premiſes, for we had no other occaſion to remember their being Conſuls but that they hinder'd others from the Office.

I have not yet, my Lords, done with the Emperor's behaviour in the Conſulſhip. I have only upon this head ſpoken what I had to ſay concerning his taking the Conſuls Oath; nor is it my preſent purpoſe, as tho the Subject were jejune and barren, to draw and ſpin out his Commendation by an unneceſſary repetition of the ſame things over and over. When the day he entred upon the Office came, he came into Court, and beſpoke us all in general and in particular, to reſume our Liberty, to undertake the common Cares of the Empire, to be vigilant and look after the publick Weal. His Predeceſſors for form ſake us'd to make us the ſame Speech, but we knew it was never their intention. They had the deſtruction of many Men in their Heads, whom by a treacherous Advancement they drew into the Snare, when they leaſt thought on't. What part of the Ocean ever yet was ſo inconſtant as the Favour of thoſe Princes, who were poſſeſs'd with ſo much Fraud and Levity, that Men were better be in their Diſpleaſure than be thought their Minions? But

wherever you command us, we follow chearfully and with ſafety. If you ſay we are free, we are ſo. If you command us to deliver our Opinions, we can freely do it; we are not ſo far overborn with Sloth nor Cowardiſe, (tho Fear and Terror and the miſerable experience of paſt Dangers were a ſufficient warning to us) as to divert our Thoughts and Inclinations from the Commonwealth, a thing that lately had even loſt its Name: But now! repoſing confidence in you, and truſting firmly to your Promiſes, we dare preſume to open our Mouths again, too long kept faſt by Slavery, and to let looſe our Tongues which had been bridled by ſo many Calamities. Your mind is, we ſhould be what you ſay; nor is there any ſort of gloſs or fallacy in your Expreſſions, nor any thing that can deceive, unleſs where Men deceive themſelves as they miſtake you. *For no Prince is ever put upon, but where he is himſelf untrue.* I am perfectly aſſured *that whatſoever the Emperor ſays, he ſpeaks it from his Heart.* For what a Gravity is there in his Speech, what Truth and Freedom in his Words, what Aſſeveration in his Voice, what Affirmation in his Countenance? In all his Actions, Geſtures, Looks, how great Sincerity? He will be ever therefore true to his Word. And he will be aſſured, ſo long

long as he maintains our Liberty, we ſhall obey him. Nor need we fear he ſhould look upon us as unwary, when we depend upon the Certainty of the Government, tho he remembers when 'twas otherwiſe.

Let us then make our ſolemn Vows for the long Continuance of the Empire, for the Safety of the People, for the Health and Happineſs of our Emperors, and for their ſakes that the Empire may laſt for ever; as was our antient Cuſtom at the beginning of the Year. 'Tis worthy obſervation what ſenſe theſe Vows are made in for the Empire: They are Vows and Prayers at all times worthy to be made. For, Sir, the *Roman* State implores the Gods for your long Life and Safety, *that you may preſerve the People committed to your charge in Wealth and Happineſs.* If you do otherwiſe, *the Gods will then forſake you; nor will they hear thoſe Prayers we make in your behalf, as being unſincere.* Other Princes wiſh'd to outlive the Liberties of the Commonwealth, and by confounding and deſtroying it they had their Wiſh. Your Life it ſelf is uneaſy to you, *unleſs the Safety of the Publick be added to it.* You don't deſire us to wiſh or pray for your Proſperity, *unleſs our own be at the ſelf-ſame time compriſed.* And as the Year begins, you always deſire the Gods to leave

you, *if you become other than the Prince you were at your Election.* But, Sir, you may with utmoſt Confidence appeal to Heaven that it may preſerve you *but as you deſerve*, ſince you are ſure that none know better than the Gods how greatly you have merited. Does not, my Lords, the Emperor ſeem to be taken up both night and day with ſuch Thoughts as theſe? I do profeſs my ſelf, that if it might redound to the publick Benefit I'd yield my Neck to be cut off: nor, were I peccant here, would I deſire the Gods to ſtop or ſlacken their Indignation. Nay I deſire and pray that the Commonwealth may never make any publick Vows or Prayers for me; or if they do, my only hope is, that I may deſerve them. You reap, Sir, then this glorious Fruit of your Preſervation, and of the Favour of Heaven towards you, That as you deſire Protection from it but upon Conditions, if you govern well the State and to the publick Profit, *you may be ſure you do it well ſince you are thus preſerved.* You paſs the Day therefore with Eaſe and Safety, whereas other Princes were diſtracted with their Cares and Fears; they remain'd ſuſpicious and aſtoniſh'd, fearing our Patience would not hold. And as they look'd for their Expreſſes from the enſlaved Provinces, if they were ſtop'd by

Floods

Floods or Snow, or any contrary Wind, they immediately thought that ſome Rebellion had broke out which their ill Government deſerv'd. Then was no Man ſafe from the Emperor's Jealouſy: *For as under an ill Prince every body who is a worthier Man than he (as 'tis eaſy for any to be better than the worſt) is look'd upon and dreaded as a Rival; ſo of conſequence every Man of Worth muſt be in Terror.* But your Safety depends not upon the Return of Meſſengers, nor the Delays of Poſt-boys. You know that the whole Empire hath taken Oaths of Allegiance to you, *as you have mutually taken your Coronation Oath to them.* This we have all taken to our own Advantage. We love you, and you deſerve it, and this for our own ſakes as well as yours; nor does there paſs a day, Sir, but the Affections of your People, gain'd by the Advantages they enjoy under you, make Vows and Prayers to Heaven for you. *That Prince is in a mean Condition who is always liable to Cenſure.* It may be ask'd why thoſe Princes only are inquiſitive who are hated? Why if the Conduct of good and bad Emperors were not greatly different in this matter, how could you expect to find your ſelf ſo much admir'd, ador'd, and prais'd by every body? How could you imagine that your Sub-

jects with their Wives and Children, Servants and Neighbours Fire-sides, could give you such good Words? *If you were like some of your Predecessors, your Ears would soon be sensible of the Alteration.* Besides, tho Love and Hatred are two contrary Qualities, yet in this they are alike, *that as we passionately love a good Prince, so we as extravagantly hate a bad one.*

You had sufficient Experience of our Affections and good Opinion that day, when you so qualified the Cares and Thoughtfulness of every Candidate, that no Man's Success should disturb another's Quiet. Some went off with Joy, others with Hopes: many were congratulated, none condol'd with. And for this reason you encouraged the Youth to aspire to the highest Offices of the State, to ingratiate themselves with the Senate, and bid them expect Advancement from you as they were approved by them: In which respect if they wanted an Example, you bid them follow yours. *And yours, Sir, is a great one, fit to be imitated as well by Princes as by Candidates for the Consulship.* What Competitor ever carried himself with greater respect to the Senate than you have done in all parts of your Life? but then most remarkably, when you sat with them to judg of the Sufficiency of

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each Candidate. Was any thing obtain'd from you, but the Senate conſented to it? Some few Perſons of Illuſtrious Houſes were advanc'd to Offices before they had attain'd to the preciſe Age which the Law requir'd. The Nobility therefore are not obſcur'd, but encourag'd by the Emperor. Nor does your Majeſty terrify or threaten the Deſcendants of ſuch as formerly deſerv'd greatly of the State; but by putting 'em ſoon in Office, you add to and augment the Honour of their Houſes. Where you find any of the antient Nobility famous for their former Merit, you embrace, cheriſh and promote them for their Country's Service. The Names of our antient Great Nobility are rever'd and famous. Theſe the Emperor reſcues from Oblivion by preſerving them, and adding to their Number ſuch as in this Age deſerve to be ennobled.

One of the Candidates, who that day appear'd, had been Queſtor in a remote Province, and in the Capital City of it had ſettled, to his great Commendation, a very conſiderable Fund for their common Stock. This you thought worthy to be recommended to the Senate, tho the Author was not of Noble Parentage. For why, Sir, in your Reign, who have exceeded the Nobility of your Birth by your own

own proper Vertue, ſhould their Caſe be worſe, who have deſerved to make their Poſterity noble, than thoſe who received it from their Anceſtors? This was a worthy Action, fit to be known by all the Magiſtracy throughout the Empire, that Men are encouraged to approve themſelves Men of Worth by the Rewards they find given to ſuch, rather than by Puniſhments inflicted on the Bad.

The Nobility were animated, and ſet themſelves to emulate what they found applauded: Nor was there any Man but wiſh'd he could do as much, *ſince it appear'd the Emperor had Intelligence of whatſoever paſs'd in the Provinces.* 'Tis uſeful, Sir, and neceſſary that the Lieutenants of Provinces ſhould have this Confidence. It will encourage their Induſtry and their Integrity. The Opinion and Approbation of the Emperor is a great thing. Hitherto, tho Men were never ſo right and ſo ſincere, this true but miſerable Thought either chang'd their Minds, or made them negligent. For example; *Let me do ne'er ſo well, the Emperor either will not know it, or if he does, he'l take no notice.* So that by the Negligence or Perverſeneſs of our former Emperors, *who neither puniſh'd the Bad, nor rewarded the Good, the one were not deter'd from their*

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*Crimes, nor the other encourag'd.* But now whoſoever governs well his Province, is ſure he ſhall attain to what his Vertue hath merited. The way now is ſet out and open both to Honour and to Fame, with this Advantage, that Men gain what they deſire; and having gain'd it, they have Obligation *to none but to themſelves.* You have alſo freed the Provinces in time coming from their Fears, and from the Neceſſity of ſending up their Complaints to Court. For when the Magiſtracy ſhall be ſenſible that the Addreſſes and Thanks of the Provinces to the Emperor for ſending good Governors *is the way to be advanc'd,* there will be an end of all Complaints; and Men will find nothing ſo conducive to their future Preferment, as their good Behaviour in thoſe they have already: *One Office and Dignity will beget another.* I'd have it ſo, that whoſoever is made Governor of a Province, ſhould at his return bring with him not the Certificate of his Friends, nor clandeſtine Teſtimonials obtain'd in Taverns, but the publick Edicts and Decrees of Colonies and Cities. 'Tis not fit that Cities, People, and Countries ſhould be thus compriz'd in the Atteſtation of a few Men, becauſe they are in Office: *The moſt effectual Courſe to obtain a further Character, ought to be the publick Addreſſes of thoſe he govern'd laſt.* Be-

Beſides, with what Satisfaction and Applauſe did the Senate take it, that as the Perſons choſen were call'd to you by Name, you ſaluted them with a Kiſs? That you came down to them in the Hall, and made your Compliment to them like their other Friends. I know not whether moſt to admire you, or to blame the Pride of your Predeceſſors who diſus'd ſo generous a Cuſtom; when ſitting on the Throne as tho they had been nail'd there, they were us'd upon ſuch occaſions with an imperious Air to give a Nod, or ſlowly move their Hands: But you ſhew'd us an unuſual Sight, *the Emperor and the Candidates upon even ground, them who received, and him who confer'd the Honour ſtanding together*; which Act of yours, how greatly taking was it to the Senate? The greater the thing was in it ſelf, the more Auguſt and Honourable the manner. For where nothing could be added to you, *what could endear you more than your Humility, ſave the Reverence of your Character? Humility is the laſt thing a Prince ſhall ſuffer by.* 'Twas not ſo much your Courteſy, as the Intention of it we admir'd. For when both by your Countenance, your Voice and Geſture, you expreſt your Satisfaction to them, you could have appointed no Man to have made the Compliment in your Name,

Name who could have done it ſo well. Again, when the Competitors were nam'd in Council with the uſual Ceremony, there were you giving your Approbation among the reſt; that the Royal Aſſent which we were wont to wiſh might be ſignified in the behalf of Men of Worth, you there gave in Perſon. *You ſet them forth as the Beſt of Men when you declar'd them choſen.* Their Character received a double Honour, as being approved both by your Majeſty and by the Senate, who thought themſelves as highly honour'd as did the Perſons whom you commended.

For as you wiſh'd at the beginning of the Seſſion, that all things might ſucceed to the advantage both of the Senate and the Commonwealth, might not we at the ſame time a little have inverted the Order of your Wiſhes, and have beſought the Gods, that all that you have done or ſhall do may ſucceed as proſperouſly to you, to us, and to the whole Republick: Or to make it ſhorter, *to your ſelf only, wherein the Commonwealth and we are a part?* There was a time, and that but lately, wherein the Intereſts of the Prince and People were diſtinct; now, be it good or bad, *'tis all the ſame.* Nor can we be happy unleſs your Majeſty be ſo too; no more than you can be, unleſs we are: or if you could,

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*'twould be the Subject of your Prayers, that the Gods ſhould favour you no longer than as you continued to deſerve our good Opinion.* Your Affection to the *Roman* People ſo poſſeſſes you, that your firſt Deſire is *to be lov'd by us, next by the Gods, nor by them neither but as you deſerve from us.* And certainly the Death and Exit of former Emperors aſſure us, *That they were never loved by the Gods, whom Men abhor'd.* 'Twas a hard matter to balance theſe good Wiſhes of yours with Commendations ſutable, yet we hope we have done it. What Zeal, what Earneſtneſs did we expreſs? With how much Spirit did we ſound forth our Acclamations? Theſe proceeded not ſo much from our Affections, *as from your high Merits and Deſervings.* They were not the Effects of Flattery, nor yet extorted from us by Fear. Whom did we ever ſtand ſo much in dread of, as thus to counterfeit? Or whom did we ever love ſo much as to be thus capable to ſhew it? You too well remember the compulſive Exigencies of Slavery. But did you ever hear, or your ſelf endeavour to perform like this? Fear can invent much, *but the Inſincerity of it will be ſoon ſeen through. Men's Behaviour in Suſpence and in Security is different. Men in Joy and Men in Grief have different ways to expreſs them-*

*themſelves; they can neither of them diſſemble: They both uſe Words peculiar to their Condition, and tho they may chance to ſpeak the ſame Words, yet they repeat them in different Accents.*

You your ſelf are Witneſs what Joy there is in every Man's Countenance. Here's nothing feign'd, diſguis'd, nor forc'd by any. The very Roofs and Houſes do reſound; the Noiſe and Clamour pierces through the Walls and Vaults. Who is there that is not ready to die for Joy? Much we did of our ſelves, and ſomewhat by an inward Impulſe: *For in Joy it ſelf there is a compulſive Power.* Nor was your Modeſty capable to have reſtrain'd it: for the more you did forbid us, the greater our Expreſſions were. We did not do it, Sir, to thwart you; for tho it be in your power to give us the occaſion of rejoicing, *yet the Meaſure of it is not in ours.* You experienc'd the Sincerity of our Acclamations, by ſhedding Tears your ſelf. We ſaw your bloated Eyes, your ſerious Countenance, and as much Modeſty in your bluſhing Cheeks, as in your gracious Temper and Diſpoſition. This made us wiſh the more, that you might never have other Cauſe to weep. Methinks we were even ready to ask the Seats and Benches of the Houſe, whether they had ever known the

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Emperor to weep before; *'tis certain they had known the Senators.* You have laid a mighty Obligation both upon the Princes who ſhall ſucceed you, and upon our Poſterity; for they undoubtedly will look for't at their Princes hands that they ſhould deſerve like you; and your Succeſſors will be as uneaſy if they have not the ſame Returns from them. I can add no more than what the whole Senate pronounc'd at once when they made this Acclamation; *O Happy* Trajan! *'twas not your Wealth, but your Mind and upright Inclination which they meant by that Expreſſion.* For in truth 'tis the higheſt pitch of Happineſs, *where Men deſerve to be happy.* And tho upon that day there were many grave and wiſe things ſaid, yet was there nothing greater than this, *Have Confidence in us as in your ſelf.* This was uttered out of the great Aſſurance we had of our own Affections to you, and out of the Opinion we had of yours to us. One Man may deceive another, *but few are apt to deceive themſelves.* Let them examine their own Lives, *and then ask themſelves, what they think they deſerve?* Beſides, our Expreſſions of Joy were as eaſily believed by a good Prince, as they would have been ſuſpected by a bad one: For tho our Acclamations had been the ſame to both, yet

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the latter would have been conſcious to themſelves, that they did not deſerve our Love. For this reaſon 'twas our wiſh; *that the Gods would ſo love you, as you lov'd us.* And who could have ſpoke thus who had lov'd the Emperor but little, or who had thought himſelf as little lov'd by the Emperor? For our own parts; this was the Sum of all our Wiſhes; *That the Gods would only ſo love us as we lov'd you.* Is it not true that when we made you theſe Acclamations; we proclaimed *our own Happineſs?* What happier caſe can we be in, ſince we have it not to wiſh that our Prince ſhould love us; *but that the Gods ſhould be as kind to us as he?* The City of *Rome*, which hath been ever addicted to Piety, and hath always deſerv'd Indulgence from the Gods, can't at this time deſire a further addition to their Hapineſs, *than that the Gods would imitate the Emperor.*

But I need not touch upon every thing, nor pretend to compriſe within my Speech or Memory thoſe things which you, my Lords, to the end Poſterity may know them, are uſed to have recorded, or to appoint to be ingrav'd in Braſs. Heretofore the Emperors Speeches only us'd to be thus recorded. But the Acclamations of the Senate went no further than their Walls. Some there were which neither the Senate

nor the Prince could glory in. But 'tis both for the Dignity and Profit of the Commonwealth, that theſe to our preſent Emperor ſhould both be publiſh'd now, and tranſmitted hereafter to all Poſterity. Firſt, that the whole World may know and teſtify our Piety. Next, that it may be manifeſt that the Senate dares pronounce their Opinion both of good and of wicked Princes, as well whilſt they are yet alive as when they are dead. And laſtly, that it may be evident that we were a miſerable, yet a grateful People, even to thoſe who would not allow us to expreſs our Gratitude. But with what contention, what endeavour, what clamours were we forc'd to expoſtulate, that you would not ſuppreſs our good Affections nor your own Deſervings, but allow them to be tranſmitted to Poſterity? That Princes might hereafter learn, how to diſtinguiſh between true and feign'd Applauſes, and be inſtructed in your Science, *Not to be impos'd upon.* Tho the way to Fame and Glory be mark'd out and viſible, yet let us remind them of it. Tho it be impoſſible that Flattery ſhould be extirpated, let it not however be reſtored. Theſe are certainly things which they ought to practiſe, and they will deſerve to hear the Commendations of them where they follow them. What have

I now to add to that which in conjunction with the Senate I have wiſh'd for, but that the Joy you have expreſs'd may long continue; that this Day may be ever grateful to your Memory; that you may deſerve new Honours, and receive them? Theſe Expreſſions of ours can never be repeated but for ſuch Actions as occaſion'd them.

How agreeable to antient Cuſtom, and to the Conſular Dignity is it, that the Senate ſhould ſit three whole days only to examine into your great Deſervings; that you your ſelf ſhould in the mean time act no otherwiſe than as belong'd to the Conſuls Office? Every Member put what Queſtions he thought fit; all were free either to diſſent, to diſcant, or give their Opinions in their places for the Common Good. Our Opinions were all ask'd, and our Votes taken, and whatever Propoſition was offer'd, *the beſt Opinion carried it.* Who heretofore dar'd either to have ſpoke or mov'd, but thoſe unfortunate Men, whoſe Opinions were firſt ſifted? The reſt ſate ſtill amaz'd and terrified, and with the utmoſt pain both of Mind and Body, ſcarce refin'd *the ſilent and ſullen Faculty of aſſenting:* one ſingle Perſon made the motion, the reſt concur'd, tho againſt their Wills, as well perhaps as the Man that mov'd it. Nothing could be more diſpleaſing to the whole Senate,

*than thoſe things they ſeem'd moſt to acquieſce in.* Perhaps the Emperor might ſometimes intervene, and for the Reverence due to the Place compoſe himſelf; yet no ſooner ſhould the Houſe riſe, but he betook himſelf to his own Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure, tramples upon, neglected and deſpis'd the Dignities of Conſuls and of Senators. But our preſent Emperor carries himſelf in the Conſulſhip as tho he poſſeſs'd no other Office. He thinks nothing beneath him that becomes a Conſul. When the Houſe is up, he goes home without the leaſt Arrogance or Oſtentation uſual with Princes, and without any ſort of Tumult of his Guards about him; there is ſo little ſtir about the Gates at his approaching, that Men without diſturbance may ſtand there meditating upon their Prayers, or Augurs making their Obſervations. No Man's took down nor turn'd aſide, every Man hath his free paſſage; the Lictors are themſelves ſo modeſt, that many times the Emperor with the Sword and Mace before him is ſtop'd himſelf: He is ſo moderate in his Office, that one would think ſome Antient Conſul under a good Emperor were paſſing by. He goes often to the *Forum*, [the Courts of Juſtice] and frequently upon occaſion attends the Election of publick Officers. In his

his own proper Perſon he ſits in Court, and takes as much Pleaſure there in conferring with thoſe who ſtand next in ſucceſſion to the Office, as he did when he us'd their Names in their Election. The Candidates ſtood before the Prince his Tribunal, as he himſelf did before the Conſuls, and were there ſworn in the ſelf-ſame Terms as the Emperor had ſworn before in. For of ſo great conſequence doth he hold the Oath, that he exacts it of all ſucceeding Magiſtrates. Other parts of the Day he paſſes upon the Bench, when with the niceſt Equity and moſt religious obſervance of the Laws, he does Juſtice. If in pleading the Councel call him Emperor, or ſay your Majeſty; He replies, *No Sir, I'm only Conſul:* no other Magiſtrates Authority or Juriſdiction is in the leaſtwiſe leſſen'd by his Preſence there, but augmented rather. If he refer'd any Cauſes back to the Pretors, he us'd to call them *his Collegues*, not becauſe 'twas a taking and a popular expreſſion, *but becauſe he really ſo accounted them:* he had ſo much reverence for the Pretor's Dignity, that he thought him worthy to be the Prince's Collegue. Add to this his conſtant Attendance in the Courts, till his fainting Spirits need refreſhment. Which of us takes ſo much care and pains? Who that hath obtain'd the Office,

labours ſo much in it, or is ſo capable? 'Tis truly fit that he who makes the Conſuls, ſhould underſtand the Office as well, nay better than they do. *It would be alſo unworthy the Emperor's Fortune, to be able only to confer Honours, and not be capable himſelf to wear them.* When he is to make a Conſul, *he ought to teach him.* And he who is to receive this high Office, ought to be perſwaded *that he that gives it underſtands it.* They ought alſo to know what 'tis they are advanc'd to; for this Reaſon the Senate both requeſted and commanded you to accept the Conſulſhip a fourth time. *Theſe Words* by your obeying them ſeem'd rather a *Command, than Terms of Flattery*: For that in any other thing the Senate can't pretend to compel you, nor can you in any thing obey them ſo acceptably as in this. For as all Mens Lives, and Princes too, are of but ſhort continuance, *every good Man therefore ought to ſtrive, that he may ſerve the Commonwealth even when he is in his Grave, by leaving Monuments behind him of his Juſtice and his Moderation,* which he can beſt eſtabliſh by being Conſul. 'Twas in this proſpect that you procur'd and reſtor'd our Liberties. What Honour ſhould you love then more, or what Title oftner be diſtinguiſh'd by than this, wherein you firſt reſtor'd the Liberties of the *Roman*

*man* People? The Title of Prince denominates a Civil Magiſtrate as much as that of Conſul; and there's a Reaſon therefore for your Modeſty when you call the Conſuls your Collegues. I uſe the Term, becauſe you do by your own Example. They were uneaſy to think they were to be made the third time Conſuls, till they ſaw you accept it again. *Nothing can be too little for private Men which the Prince thinks ſufficient.* Be pleas'd then, Sir, to grant us our Requeſt; and as you are the Favorite of Heaven, and can obtain there whatſoe'er you ask, deal but with us as you are dealt with there. Perhaps you think that 'tis enough for you to have been three times Conſul, but for us we are not ſatisfied ſo. What you have done already for us in that capacity, makes us deſire and wiſh you may enjoy the Office over and over. We ſhould not be ſo zealous, were we not well aſſur'd you would diſcharge it well. It had been more tolerable to have conceal'd your Ability from us, than to deny us the benefit of it now 'tis known. Shall we never hope to ſee you Conſul again? Will you hear the repeated Deſires and Expoſtulations of the Senate, and not regard them? Will you no more afford us this mutual Joy and Satiſfaction? Shall you who are the Author and

the cauſe of all our Comfort, thus withdraw your ſelf, and try, as you were wont to do, to reſtrain our Affections towards you, but without effect? 'Tis however a happy Conflict between the Affection of the Senate, and the Prince his Modeſty, let which will get the better, 'Twill, I preſume, be matter of uncommon Joy, not leſs than what we have had already. Who can be ſo ſtupid as not to expect that he who hath oftneſt enjoy'd the Office, will execute it beſt? Other Princes when they went out of the Conſulſhip, gave themſelves up to ſloth, or to their Pleaſures, at leaſtwiſe they gave over Buſineſs. But the Emperor *Trajan* when he lays by the Conſuls Office, he reſumes the Province of the Prince, he diſtinguiſhes ſo nicely in the matter; the Conſuls Office no way extenuates his Imperial Dignity, nor yet aſpires beyond its due bounds, tho the Emperor enjoys it. It is remarkable how ready he is to receive all manner of Petitions from the Provinces and Cities. They find no ſort of difficulty in being admitted, nor no delays in their Diſpatches. They are heard as they come, and have their Anſwer. Nor is the Emperors Apartment ſtill ſhut up, and as it were beſieg'd by multitudes of Envoys, Agents, Deputies attending.

*What an intermixture of Mildneſs is there in your Severity, and with how great Reaſon and Judgment do you adapt your Clemency in all Caſes? Your care is not to enrich the Treaſury by Fines and Forfeitures, but to do exact and equal Juſtice. The Parties ſtand before you, contending not ſo much to obtain their Cauſe, as to go off approv'd and favour'd by you; nor are they ſo ſolicitous how their buſineſs goes, as what opinion you conceive of them.* Is not this a Quality *worthy both of a Prince and of a Conſul, to reconcile People that were at odds? to quiet Mens minds not ſo much by your Authority as their Governour, as by Perſwaſion, and by convincing of their Reaſon? to ſift out what hath been ill adjudg'd before, and vacate what ſhould not have been decreed; and laſtly, with the greateſt quickneſs and vivacity to perceive and to determine every thing, and calling to your ſelf the Parties, to adviſe and to aſſiſt them like the Gods themſelves?* I can't imagine, *but that the Creator of the World when he vouchſafes to caſt his Eyes below, and to conſider the Affairs of mortal Men, he decrees and governs in like ſort; that having declar'd you his Vicegerent upon Earth, he rules the Heavens as his own peculiar Province, leaving the lower World to you; and you are capable to do it, ſince not a Day of your life paſſes but for the Common good and benefit of the Univerſe.*

And

And if at any time you are overburden'd with Affairs, your way of recreating your ſelf is but to exchange one buſineſs for another. For what leiſure have you, but you are out abroad, beating through the Woods, encountering wild Beaſts, running over the Rocks and Mountains without the leaſt Aſſiſtance given you by any bodies hand, or leaping firſt before you? and even here you viſit Shrines and Places of Devotion. Thus heretofore the *Roman* Youth were wont to learn Experience with their Pleaſure: They who aſpir'd to become one day Generals, learn'd here their Art, to outrun the ſwifteſt Beaſts, to overcome the ſtrongeſt, and to take the craftieſt. Nor was it meanly thought of in times of Peace, to ſtop the Incurſions of ſalvage Creatures, and to free the Peaſants from the Fear and Danger of them. Thoſe Princes who were themſelves no Huntſmen, were however ambitious of the Honour of it; and lov'd to ſee them tam'd, and broke, and ſhut up in their Dens, and then for their Diverſion let them out again, purſue and kill them with their own Hands in their Parks and Paddocks, as tho 'twere out at large. But you take the ſame pains, and 'tis alike to you to find them as to take them.

And

And if your Majeſty be at any time pleas'd to put out to Sea, you don't ſit ſtill in your Cabbin, or upon the Quarter-deck looking upon the Sails, but you are ſometimes at the Helm, ſometimes you take up an Oar, and ſtriving with the ſtouteſt Seamen, you get the better both of Wind and Tide. How unlike this was one of your Predeceſſors, [ *Domitian* ] who could not bear the Stillneſs of the Lake of *Alba*, nor the quiet Sea that flows up to *Baiiæ*? The very Noiſe of Rowing, or the leaſt uneven Motion of the Ship, put him into Fears and Sweats: So that the poor Man ſhut up in the Hold from Noiſe and Motion, was brought into Port with the Sails furl'd, and look'd as humble till he came on ſhoar, *as a Calf before the Butcher with his Legs tied.* 'Twas a ſhameful thing for a *Roman* Emperor thus to be conducted at the Will of Maſters and of Pilots, without knowing any thing himſelf of the matter. Nor hath this Want of Courage and of Conduct been ſhewn only upon the Sea, but upon ſome Rivers. The *Rhine* and *Danube* have known ſomewhat like it, and as ſhameful; where the Enemy from the oppoſite Shoar hath ſtood and view'd the *Roman* Enſigns, Eagles, and our Camp; and have been us'd either in Winter-time

to

to pass the Ice, or in the Summer to surprize us from their Boats.

This Commendation of your Strength of Body would be of small importance, *were it not that your Mind remains superior to command it: Since neither does your Fortune, nor the mighty Affluence of Wealth about you, soften or seduce you off to Sloth or Luxury.* We have reason therefore to admire your strong and healthy Constitution, after so much Pains and Labour undergone both by Sea and Land. I have observ'd mysterious Antiquity to feign the Gods and Goddesses with all their Progeny to have took delight in such sorts of Exercises, as much as in connubial Joys or amorous Embraces with highest Deities.

But if these things be only your Diversions, what are your serious Recreations? Those I take to be your Arts of knowing Men, and taking Observations of their Gravity, Integrity and Temperance. There are none so dissolute, but in their Employs and Places they will shew some sort of Constancy. *Men are ruin'd when they have nothing to do.* Princes generally convert their Hours of Leisure into Gaming, Luxury, and other Debaucheries; spending the time allotted to Diversion in Contrivances of Vice and Folly. Men in high Stations generally are attended with this Mis-

Misfortune, That they can do nothing in private: *And for Princes, 'tis not only their Palaces, but their Cloſets and their privateſt Retirements are divulg'd; and if any thing there be injurious to their Fame, 'tis publiſh'd.*

But nothing, Sir, can conduce ſo much to the Advancement of your Character, as that all your Actions ſhould be known. They are glorious things which we behold of you in publick, nor can we think your private Conduct to be leſs. *'Tis great that you reſtrain and keep your ſelf untainted from all manner of Vice; but much more, that you have alſo kept your Houſhold free. For as 'tis matter of greater Difficulty to keep others honeſt than ones ſelf, ſo is it the more commendable, that you who are the Beſt of Men, ſhould make others like your ſelf.*

It hath been the Misfortune of many famous Men, either to marry unadviſedly, or to keep their Wives too long when they had loſt their Reputation; ſo that their Infamy at home deſtroy'd their Character abroad. They might have been great Men in their Generations, had they not been *Hen-peck'd* by their Wives. But your Conſort, *SHE IS A GLORY TO YOUR HEAD. Nothing was ever yet more pious, nor more primitive.* Were the moſt Reverend High-prieſt or Biſhop to be married, he either would make choice of her,

her, or one that's like her, *could she be found in Nature.* Her Modesty claims nothing from her Quality, but the Joy of seeing you advanc'd; and she behaves her self with a constant Reverence to your Person more than to your Power. You are both the same you were at first, sensible of no Alteration, only that you have Experience both of you how well you can support Prosperity. How modest is she in her Dress and her Retinue? How courteous in her Carriage? This was her Husband's Work, who thus instructed her and taught her. *For 'tis sufficient Glory to a Wife, to learn to obey her Husband.* When she sees your Majesty go abroad not accompanied with the Terror of insulting Guards, won't she learn also to go out as privately, and to imitate her Husband's going on foot, so far as 'tis allowable to her Sex? 'Twould be but decent for her to do thus, tho you did otherwise. From this so singular a Moderation in your Majesty, with how great Modesty ought she to carry it to her Lord and Husband, *even for her own sake?*

Then for your *Sister*, how sensible is she of her Relation to you? So far indeed, that the same Simplicity, Truth and Candour possesses both of you. Should any Man compare her to the Empress, one might

might be apt to raiſe a Queſtion, *Whether it be more requiſite to a happy Life, to be well educated, or fortunately born? Nothing uſes to raiſe Contention, eſpecially among the Women, like Emulation. This chiefly ariſes where they live together, or otherwiſe an Equality of Condition ſtirs up Envy, and from thence grows Hatred.* This makes the matter more admirable, that two Ladies in the ſame Houſe of equal Quality and Fortune, yet ſhould have not the leaſt Variance nor Contention. They love and pay a mutual reſpect to each other; and as they either of them bear the tendereſt Affection, Sir, to you, ſo 'tis equal to them which of them you love beſt. They are ſo much the ſame in their Deſign and Courſe of Living, that one can hardly think them two diſtinct Perſons. Their only Study is to imitate and follow you. Wherefore their Cuſtoms are alike, becauſe they are the ſame with yours. Hence ſprings the Moderation of their Affections, and their perpetual Eaſineſs of Mind: *Nor need they ever fear the Danger of falling back to a private Character, becauſe they never liv'd above it.* The Senate offer'd them the Title of *AUGUSTÆ*, but they both ſtood out againſt it, as you oppos'd the Stile of *Pater Patriæ*, and ſet as great a Value upon being the Emperor's Wife

Wife and Siſter, as if they had been call'd *Auguſta*. But whatever Reaſons ſway'd with their Modeſty, they appear to us ſo much the more worthy of the Title, becauſe they have declin'd it. *What can be more worthy in the Sex, than to place their Honour not in empty Titles, but in the Eſteem and good Opinion of the World; and to make it evident they deſerve the higheſt Appellations, tho they refuſe them?*

The preſent Age was alſo deſtitute of what Antiquity eſteem'd the higheſt Bleſſing, and that is FRIENDSHIP. *The World, inſtead of it, hath been impos'd upon by Flattery, Deceit, and Love diſſembled, worſe than Hatred.* At Court there was an airy Fantom ſometimes mention'd, call'd by the Name of Friendſhip: *But what Friendſhip could there be, when all the Privity between the Prince and Subject, was but Slave and Tyrant?* But you have once more brought in place this exil'd wandering Jewel. You are bleſs'd with Friends, becauſe you know how to carry it like a Friend. 'Tis moſt apparent to your Subjects that you rule by Love: *nor is there any Affection ſo upright, ſo free, ſo unapt to tyrannize, or that ſo much exacts Returns of Kindneſs.* It may ſo happen to a Prince, to become hated even by thoſe for whom he hath no Diskindneſs; *but he can never*

*never be belov'd, but where he loves.* You retain the ſame Kindneſs for your Friends you had before, than which nothing can be more honourable. For tho you are grown above them, yet you are pleaſed to do all manner of friendly Offices, your Dignity as Emperor no way hindring: nay, you then act moſtly as a Prince, when in that Quality you beſtow your Favours. *Beſides, as the Station of a Prince requires Services, ſo of neceſſity ought it to be the Prince's Care to make himſelf Friends.* May you ever follow this Courſe, and conſtantly retain this among all your other Vertues, *nor ever be perſuaded that you act beneath your ſelf, unleſs you hate.* 'Tis the moſt deſirable thing in the World to be belov'd, and ſo it is to love; and this you do ſo remarkably in both reſpects, that the more you love, the more you are belov'd. 'Tis eaſier and more natural to expect that one Man ſhould be kind than many. Then you have ſuch a Faculty of obliging, that Men muſt be ungrateful not to love you.

'Tis a Comfort to us to underſtand how uneaſy it is to you to deny your Friends in any thing: That you diſmiſs'd a very worthy Citizen, and a Perſon dear to you, troubled and againſt your Will, that you could not keep him. It was ap-

parent how much you laid it to heart, ſince you yielded to his Departure contrary to your Inclinations. A thing unheard of, that when the Emperor and his Friend were of two Opinions with relation to that Friend, the latter carried it.

It is moreover a thing worthy to be tranſmitted to all Poſterity, that you created a Prefect of the Prætorian Guards, not among thoſe that ſought it, but declin'd it; and that becauſe he coveted Retirement, you allow'd it: That tho you are overborn with publick Cares your ſelf, yet you envy no Man who withdraws.

We underſtand, Sir, how much we ow you for the Diſcharge of that laborious Station you are in, when other Men petition and obtain leave from you to withdraw themſelves, as the greateſt Bleſſing of this Life. What a Confuſion were you in, when you accompanied your Friend, and brought him forward on his Journey? For you went with him and could not refrain; but as you took your leave you embrac'd and kiſs'd him. You ſtood upon the Shoar, and with the tendereſt Concern you bid adieu, wiſhing him with Tears a happy Voyage, and a ſafe and quick Return.

Your Liberality I ſhall not enlarge on, nor can any Man expreſs the Bounty and Gene-

Generoſity you ſhew'd him; *by which as he became too* Great, *he grew ſuſpitious to the State.* I no way doubt but that his Mind was to have return'd, and had done ſo, *but that he found it better to wiſh your Majeſty's Proſperity at a diſtance, than to enjoy the Happineſs of remaining near you to your Prejudice.* And for that other Perſon whom you had made Prefect of the Prætorian Guards, he had the Honour to be approv'd by you, but yet greater Commendation accrued to him by his refuſing it. You at the ſame time gave proof of your Condeſcenſion, that you would detain no Man in your Service againſt his Will. This was kind, and like a common Parent; *to compel no Man; and to remember always that no Office can be ſo dear to any as their Freedom, when they deſire it.* 'Tis your peculiar Honour, Sir, to give licence to your Officers at their own Requeſt; and tho it be contrary to your Inclinations to permit them to withdraw when they petition: That tho your Friends deſire to be diſmiſs'd, yet you are not deſerted; for you can at any time recal as well as ſuffer Men to retire.

And you, my Lords, for whom the Emperor hath expreſs'd ſo great regard, it is your Duty to acquieſce in his Opinion here, and to be zealous in it. *For when*

*the Prince hath given teſtimony that he knows how to be a Friend where 'tis deſerv'd, 'tis ſurely no fault in him if he loves ſome Men leſs than others.* Who is it that can love him indifferently when he himſelf ſubmits to, and preſcribes not the Rules and Laws of Friendſhip? One Man would be in the Emperor's favour by being near his Perſon, another by being abſent: they have both their Wiſh. *No Man is troubleſome by ſtaying, nor forgotten if he goes.* For every Man hath that juſt notice taken of him which he deſerves; tho it be eaſier for the Emperor to forget a Man's Face who is abſent, than to cancel him and his Deſervings in his Affections.

Many of our former Princes, tho Lords over all their Subjects, were yet Slaves to their own Servants, whom they had made their Freed-men. By theſe Men's Counſels and Advices they were govern'd: Theſe were the Ears, and theſe the Mouths, they heard and ſpoke by: Theſe were the Perſons by whoſe means the Offices of Prætors, High Prieſts, Conſuls, were obtain'd. You, Sir, hold your Freed-men in high Eſteem, but in no other than becomes their Station; and you look upon it as ſufficient, provided they are upright and frugal Men. *For you know it to be an Argument but of a weak Prince, where his Ser-*

*vants*

*vants grow too Great.* And in the firſt place you make uſe of none but ſuch as were approv'd and lov'd either by your ſelf, your Father *Nerva,* or ſome one of the beſt of our former Emperors; and theſe you ſo immediately give charge to, that they form their Conduct, not according to their Maſter's Fortunes, but their own. And ſo much the rather are we inclin'd to pay Reſpect and Honour to them, becauſe that it proceeds from Choice, and not Neceſſity.

Was it not for good Reaſons that the Senate and People of *Rome* confer'd upon you the Title and Sirname of *Optimus* [the Beſt of Emperors?] This is an Appellation eaſily obtain'd by any Prince, tho but of late Invention. 'Tis well known that no body deſerv'd it till your ſelf: For if any body had, it would ſoon have been thought on. Should we entitle you our moſt Happy Emperor, that were rather due to your Fortunes, than your Diſpoſition or Carriage towards us. If we ſhould call you *Maximus,* that would look *invidious rather than honourable.* 'Twas one of the Beſt of Princes who adopted you for his Succeſſor; wherefore the Senate could do no leſs than give you the Title of *Optimus.* It is ſo much your Right both by your Merit and by Birth, that when we name

or mention you, we may as well call you *Optimus* as *Trajan*: *as heretofore the Families of the* Piſones *were diſtinguiſh'd for their Frugality, the* Lælii *for their Wiſdom, and the* Metelli *for their Piety*; all which Diſtinctions are contain'd in this one Word, *For no body can be the Beſt, but who excels all others for whatſoever Faculty or Quality they are commended.* 'Twas neceſſary therefore, *that after all other Titles this ſhould be annex'd, as being the greater:* For 'tis not ſo much to be Emperor, *Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus, as to exceed in Vertue all the Emperors*, Cæſars, *and* Auguſti *that ever were before you.* For this reaſon *Jupiter*, whom we eſteem the Father of Gods and Men, is ador'd firſt by the Stile of *Optimus* [the Beſt] and next by that of *Maximus* [the Greateſt] *Wherefore your Glory is the greater, ſince 'tis evident that both theſe Appellations are your due.* Thus have you obtain'd a Name, that can't hereafter be transfer'd; *Good Princes won't be able to reach it, and 'twill be a Jeſt for bad ones to pretend to it.* And tho all your Succeſſors ſhould uſurp it, yet will it be ever known to be peculiar *to you only.* For as the Name of *Auguſtus* minds us of the Perſon to whom it was firſt attributed, ſo this of *Optimus* ever will remind Poſterity of you: For ſo often as future Ages

ſhall

ſhall have occaſion to apply the Term to any, they will remember who it was that acquired it.

And now to thee, O *Nerva*, I appeal: How highly art thou here tranſported, when from above thou ſeeſt and heareſt that He's the Beſt of Men, whom upon Earth as ſuch thou didſt adopt? How pleas'd art thou to be compar'd with him thy Son, and by him to be exceeded? For nothing ſurely in thy exalted Station can be more acceptable, than that thy beloved *Trajan* has deſerved the Character of *Optimus* [the Beſt of Men] And for your ſelf, Great Sir, (if you are not tranſlated and plac'd amongſt the Statues, your Station will not be much inferior) what Pleaſure do you take in obſerving here a deſerving Colonel, there a gallant Soldier, as tho you did diſcern both by their Air and Countenances that they would one day riſe to be Emperors and Princes? With how much Kindneſs do you emulate your Father *Nerva* in this point, whether it be better to have begot, or to have choſen ſuch a Succeſſor as your ſelf? Hail! to you both for having done ſo worthily, and brought ſo vaſt a Bleſſing to the Commonwealth. For tho *Trajan*'s Vertue procur'd a Triumph to himſelf, and deified his Father *Nerva*, yet is the Honour full as

great to be confer'd by ſuch a Son, as if he had himſelf deſerv'd it.

I know, my Lords, that every Citizen, and the Conſuls chiefly, ought to be ſo affected, as to think themſelves publickly rather than privately obliged. *For as 'tis fairer and more rational to abominate a wicked Prince for the publick Wrongs he hath done, rather than for private Injuries; ſo is it more ſpecious for Men to love a good Prince becauſe he hath obliged Mankind in general, rather than particular or private Perſons.* But as 'tis cuſtomary upon theſe occaſions for the Conſuls in their own behalf to make Acknowledgment how far they are themſelves obliged to the Imperial Majeſty, give me then leave, my Lords, to perform this Duty not only for my ſelf, but for *Cornutus Tertullus*, my Fellow-Conſul. For why ſhould not I give Thanks for him, on whoſe account I am no leſs oblig'd than on my own? eſpecially ſince our moſt Gracious Sovereign hath been pleas'd to confer that on both of us, which had he done but ſingly to either, he had oblig'd us both. When *Domitian*, that mercileſs Ravager and Hangman, deſtroy'd and murder'd our common Friends, then we took Comfort both of us in the ſame ſurviving Friends, as we had the ſame Objects to lament in thoſe he murder'd: And

as

as we now ſhare equally our Joys and Hopes, ſo did we then our Griefs and Fears. Our late moſt Excellent Emperor *Nerva* had ſo much Conſideration for our paſt Sufferings, that he was pleas'd, ſo ſoon as Opportunity offered, to diſtinguiſh and advance us as Men of Worth in his Opinion, that it might be the Sign and Token that the Times were altered, when ſuch Men flouriſhed whoſe chief and only Wiſh before was, that they might not be ſo much as known to the Emperor. We had not been full two Years in another great and moſt laborious Office, when you, Sir, the braveſt and the beſt of Princes, advanc'd us to the Conſulſhip; that the Honour of being ſoon prefer'd might attend us in this great Station. *This Difference there is between you and other Princes; that they valued themſelves upon their Favours by the Difficulty they made to grant them; and thought thoſe Honours would be more acceptable where Men had waited to Deſpair, and where Delays that look'd like abſolute Refuſals made them aſham'd and pointed at.* We are even aſham'd to think how highly you have honoured us by comparing of us to our antient Conſuls, for our Love to Juſtice and to our Country. Whether we deſerve ſo much or no we dare not be ſo bold as to determine; for as we are not to derogate

gate from what your Majesty hath affirmed, so would it be uneasy to us to profess the Truth, especially of those high and honourable things you have said of us. You are however worthy, Sir, to make such Men Consuls, whose Characters deserve as much. Give us leave, Sir, to acquaint you, that of all your Bounties it was the most grateful Part, that you were pleas'd once more to make us Collegues in the Office. The mutual Friendship between us, our way of living alike, and our Design and Drift the same, required it. For we are so absolutely the same in our Minds and Tempers, that our Identity in this point will lessen the Reputation of our good Agreement; and it will be as much to be wonder'd at if one of us should differ from the other, as if he should disagree and differ with himself. 'Twas not therefore a sudden Motion, and to serve a turn, that we were made Collegues in the Consulship, for another to assume it when the occasion had been over: and altho those who are nominated again to the Office are obliged twice, tho at divers times, we on the other hand have received two Consulships together, have executed them together, have been Consuls one with the other now again.

How

How noble was it, that when we were both of us Lords of the Treaſury, before you appointed any to ſucceed us there, you confer'd upon us the Conſulſhip? You augmented one Dignity by the Addition of another; thereby not only continuing, but multiplying Honours upon us: and thinking it too little to be laid aſide when our time expired in one Office, you thought fit to prevent it by giving us another. *Such Confidence you had in our Integrity, that there was no doubt but that of your Royal Care and Bounty you would not ſuffer us, after the Diſcharge of ſo great a Truſt, to become private Citizens again.* It was the firſt Year of your Acceſſion that you made us Conſuls; the ſame Leaf in the Records ſhall mention your Conſulſhip with ours; our Names alſo ſhall be added in the *Roman* Annals in the ſelf-ſame Year as yours: You were pleas'd to preſide at our Election, to declare us choſen with the uſual Acclamation; we were made Conſuls upon your recommending us, and by your Intereſt we were as ſuch acknowledg'd. You gave your Suffrage for us in Court, and declar'd the Election in the Field. How honourable is it to us that were thus made Conſuls within the ſame Month that you were born? That it fell to us to publiſh and to ſolemnize a Feſtival upon three accounts:

accounts: Firſt, that within this Month the worſt of Princes died, the beſt ſucceeded, and a better than the beſt of them was born. The Solemnity of our Paſſage through the City in our Chariot will be the more Auguſt, by reaſon that we have the Royal Preſence with us. We ſhall make our Entry chearfully amidſt the Prayers and good Wiſhes of the People, who on all ſides will ſurround us with Huzza's and Shouts. But above all, methinks you are for this to be commended, for that having made us Conſuls, you allow us freely to perform the Duty of our Office. Here's neither Fear nor Danger from the Prince, either to perplex our Minds, or overaw us; no threatning Speeches to be curb'd with, nor compulſive Orders to be comply'd with in pronouncing Judgment. The Place maintains its Dignity, *nor are we afraid of being affronted or aſſaulted becauſe we are in Office.* And if the Dignity of our Station happens in any thing to be diminiſhed, the Fault muſt lie on our ſide, and not upon the Government. For, as for the Emperor's part, we are as free to act as Conſuls, as when there was yet no Emperor. We never can be capable to expreſs our Acknowledgments to you hereafter for ſo many Favours done us, but by reflecting back

back that we were once made Conſuls, *and by your Appointment*. This we ſhall conſtantly remember, and behave our ſelves according to our Character. We ſhall ſo manage Affairs with relation to the Publick, as tho we ſtill liv'd under the Commonwealth: nor ſhall we think our ſelves diſmiſs'd, and to have no further Intereſt in the Conſulſhip, but that we are bound, ſworn, and obliged to hold it, as a Place of Care and Labour, as well as of Dignity and Honour.

Laſtly then; Here as Conſul I implore the Gods, and chiefly thee O *Jupiter*, the Supreme Governor and Preſerver of the *Roman* Empire, That thou wouldſt be favourable to what thou haſt done for us; and that to the reſt of all thy Favours thou wouldſt add a long Continuance. Thou haſt heard the Prayers we made againſt a Tyrant; vouchſafe, we pray thee, now to grant us the Requeſts we make for a gracious Sovereign. We do not importune thee for Peace, for Concord, or for Safety, neither do we pray for Wealth or Honour; but what we have to ask, 'tis all compriz'd in this one Wiſh, *The Emperor's long Life*. 'Tis not a new Requeſt we make, for you preſerv'd and ſaved him from the Jaws of a moſt mercileſs Deſtroyer: Nor could he, when the higheſt Cedars

dars trembled, who exceeded all of them in height, have ſtood, but by the Divine Aſſiſtance. 'Twas his good Fortune to be overlook'd by a wicked Prince, who could not but receive the beſt regards from a good one. Thou gaveſt, O *Jupiter*, a ſignal Teſtimony of thy Approbation of him, when as he went forth to the Army thou didſt receive him into thine own Care and Patronage. Thy Opinion of him was pronounc'd by *Nerva*: thou didſt make choice of him to be to him a Son, to us a common Parent, and to thy ſelf the Chief and Higheſt of thy Prieſthood. Wherefore with greater Confidence I will repeat thoſe Prayers, and in the ſelf-ſame manner as he the Emperor allows, *That if he governs well the Empire, and to the publick Benefit of all*, Firſt, that thou wouldſt preſerve him both to us and to our Children after us. Next, when thou ſhalt appoint another to ſucceed him, *whether he begets or breeds him, may he be like himſelf at his Adoption*: Or if Fate or Nature ſhall deny him this, *Do thou aſſiſt him in his Choice*; and ſhew him *ſuch a Perſon* as may deſerve to be adopted in the Capitol.

To you, my Noble Lords, how much and greatly I'm oblig'd, it will remain recorded in the publick Acts and Monuments of the State. You have all of you been

been pleaſed to expreſs your ample Approbation of our modeſt and peaceable Demeanor both as Tribunes and as Prætors; and alſo in thoſe other Offices by you enjoin'd us for the Defence of our Allies. You have approv'd of my particular Behaviour in the Conſulſhip with that favourable regard towards me, that I ſhall ever think my ſelf oblig'd to return my utmoſt Thanks, and to endeavour to deſerve your good Opinion. *Nay I ſhall ever think thoſe Men deſerve Preferments whom I ſee you advance.* I pray you only furthermore to favour my preſent Purpoſes, and to believe that tho I began to be employ'd under that moſt inſidious Emperor *Domitian*, before he had yet profeſt his Enmity to all good Men, ſo ſoon as he declar'd his impious Meaning I gave over; *and when I ſaw what Courſes Men muſt take to gain Preferments, I choſe rather for the preſent to ſit ſtill, and wait with Patience.* If in ill times I was to be accounted one amongſt the Sad and Fearful, now in better I may be enumerated among the Fortunate and Happy. Laſtly, my Noble Lords, I ask your Favour and Permiſſion to expreſs the Love and Duty I ow a good Prince, ſo much the rather *becauſe I was obnoxious to a bad one.* I ever ſhall retain that Reverence and that Reſpect for all of you, as not to aſſume or over-

overvalue my ſelf as Conſul now, nor as a Perſon of Conſular Dignity when my Year is finiſh'd; but always ſhall I endeavour to behave my ſelf, as tho I appear'd no otherwiſe before you, but as a Candidate for the Conſulſhip.

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*FINIS.*